The hiſtorie of wyates rebellion, with the order and maner of reſiſting the ſame, whereunto in the ende is added an earnest conference betwene the begetters and ſeducers of this rebellion for the diſcharge of the cauſe of their daily diſorder.

Made and compyled by Iohn Proctor.

Menſe Ianuario.

Anno 1555.

¶ In the ende ye shall finde a table, directing to the principal pointes contayned in this booke.

¶ To the moſt excellent and moſte vertuous ladye our moſte gracious Soueraigne, Marie by the grace of God Quene of Englande, Fraunce, Naples, Hieruſalem and Irelande, Defendour of the faith, princeſſe of Spayne & Sicille, Archeduchesſe of Auſtria, Ducheſſe of Millaine, Burgundie and Brabande, Countesſe of Haſpurge, Flaunders & Tirole; your Maieſties moſte faythfull, loyall, and obedient ſubiecte John Proctor, wiſheth all grace, longe peace, quiet raygne, from God the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

THATH been alowed, moſt gracious ſoueraigne, for a meteall ary policie in all ages, as ſtoryes do witneſs, that the malygnious enterpraſes of the wicked, whiche haue at anye tyme

attempted with traiterous force
to subuert or alter the publike
state of their countreies, as also
the wise and vertuous polices
of the good, practised to pre-
serue the common weale, and to
repell the enemies of the same,
should by writyng be committed
to eternal memorie: partly that
they of that age in whose tyme
such thinges happened, mought
by the oft reading conceiue a cer-
tayne gladnesse in conferringe
with them selues, & beholdinge
as it were in a glasse fro what
calamitie and extreme ruine, by
what policie & wisedome their
natiue countreis were deliuered,
besides the great misery & peril
they them selues haue escaped:
partly for a doctrine and a mo-
nition seruing both for the pre-

sent & future tyme: but chefelye and principallye that the trayterours themselues, who throughe hatred to their prynce or countrey shall eyther of their owne malicious dispositiō be stirred, or els by other peruerse counsel thereunto induced, may alwaies haue before their eyes the miserable end that happeneth as iust reward to all such captiues as eyther of ambition not satisfied with their owne state will seke preposterously to aspire to honoure, or of malice to theyr prince, will enter into that horrible crime of priuie conspiracie or opē rebelliō. The industrie of writers doth sufficiētly declare in a numbre of stories that conspiracie & treason hath alwaies turned to the authours a wyer

ched & miserable ende, & if their
persones happen at any tyme to
escape tempozal punishment, as
rarely they haue done, yet their
names, speciallý of notozious &
principal offenders, haue ben al-
waies had in suche vile & odible
detestation in all ages & among
all nations, as foz the same thei
haue been euer after abhozred
of all good men. These general
consideratiõs mouyng other to
indict and penne stozies, moued
me also to gather together and
to regester foz memozie the mer
ueilous practise of Wyat his de-
testable rebelliõ, litle inferioz to
the most daũgerous repozted in
any histozie, either foz desperate
courage in the authour, oz foz
the mõstruous end purposed by
his rebellion. Yet I thought no-

thing

thyng belle at the beginning, then to publishe the same at this time or at this age, minding onely to gather notes therof where the truth mought be best knowen, (for the which I made earnest and diligent inuestigation) and to leaue them to be published by others hereafter to the behof of our posteritie. But hearing the fundry tales thereof farre dissonãt in the vtteraunce, & many of them as far wide frõ truth, factioned from the speakers to aduaunce or depraue as they fantased the parties: and vnderstãdyng beside what notable infamie sprong of this rebellio to the whole countre of Kent, & to euery mẽbre of ỹ same, where fundrie & many of them to mine owne knowledge shewed them

selues most faithfull & worthye
subiectes, as by ꝯ story self shal
euidently appeare, which either
of hast or of purpose were omit
ted in a printed booke late sette
furth at Cãterbury: I thought
these to be special cõsiderations
whereby I ought of duety to my
cõtrey to cõpile & digest suche
notes as I had gathered cõcer-
ning ꝯ rebellion, in some forme
& fashion of history, & to publish
the same in this age & at thys
present, cõtrary to my first intẽt,
aswel that ꝯ very truth of that
rebellious enterprise myght be
throughly knowē, as that also
the shire wher that vile rebelliõ
was practised might by openig
the ful truth in some part be de
liuered frõ the infamy which as
by report I heare is made so ge-
neral

neral in other shires, as though very few of Kent wer fre from Wyates conspiracie: most humblie beseching your highnes to take this my trauell in so good and gracious parte, as of your graces benigne & gentle nature it hath pleased you to accept my former bookes dedicated vnto your highnes. Whereby I mind nothing lesse thē to excuse or accuse anye affectionatly, but to set furth eche mannes doynges truely accordyng to their demerites, that by the contemplatiō herof both the good may be incouraged in ꝑ execution of perfit obedience & vnspotted loyaltie, and the wicked restrained from the hatefull practice of suche detestable purposes.

The blessed Trinitie preserue your highnes.

To the youyng reader.

THe safe & sure recordation of paynes and perils past, hath present delectation (sayeth Tulye.) For thinges, were they neuer so bitter and vnpleasaunt in the execution, being after in peace and securitie, renewed by report or chronicle, are bothe plausible and profitable, whether they touched our selues or other.

Beynge thus in this poynte persuaded (louynge reader) I thonghte it a trauayle neythey vnpleasaunt for thee, nor vnthankeful for me, to cõtrue the late rebellió practised by Wyat, in

in forme of a chronicle as thou seest. Whereby as I meane not to please the euill, nor displease the good, so I muche desire to amende the one by settynge before his eye the lamentable Image of hateful rebellion, for the increase of obedience, and to helpe the other by setting furth the vnspotted loyaltie of suche as aduenturously and faythfullye serued in thys daungerous time, for the increase of knowledge and policie the better to represse the like dangers if any hereafter happen.

And further although herby I couete not to renewe a feare of a daunger past, yet would I gladlye increase a care and studie in euerye good mans heart to auoyde a like daunger that

may happen, & most tymes happeneth, when a daunger with much difficultie auoided is not sufficient warnynge to beware of the next. I haue forborne to touch anye man by name, Myot onelye excepte, and a fewe other which the storye would not permit to be leaft out. Yet take me not that I meane to excuse anye mans faulte thereby. For what shoulde I shewe my selfe so vngrate or vnnaturall vnto my naturall countreimen, as namelye to blase them to the worlde, whome eyther theyr owne good happe, or the queenes surpassynge mercye would to be couered at this tyme? And although I touch some by name, terming them in certayn places traytours and rebelles, iuste

iuſt titles of their deſertes, yet (God is my witnes) I do it not of malice or enuye to anye of their perſons. I neuer hated anye of them, no not Wyat himſelfe: whome, although he was vtterly vnknowen vnto me, yet for the ſundrie and ſingular giftes, wherwith he was largelye endued, I had him in great admiration. And now I rather pitie his vnhappie caſe, then malice his perſonne. And doe muche lament that ſo manye good & commendable qualities were abuſed in the ſeruice of curſed hereſie, whoſe rewarde was neuer other then ſhamefull confuſion, by one waye or other to all that folowed her wayes. Finallye, if thou ſuppoſe I haue not fully ſet furth

the whole case al as it was I shal not agaynst it: neither thought I it necessarie so to doe, but rather so muche as for this time might be both plausible & profitable, & shuld satisfie such poynts as in ꝑ dedicatorie epistle to ꝑ quenes maiestie are expressed. Hereafter it may be ꝑ further be seyd touching this matter. In meane tyme ꝑ hast no iust cause I trust to be offended wt this my ꝑsent enterꝑise, either for the maner of handlinge, or for the matter herin handled, the one hauynge sufficient perspicuitie, and plainesse, thother ful trueth: for which I haue made such diligent inuestigation, as I haue found it, & haue herin expressed the same, especially so much as concerneth Kent.

VALE.

wyates rebellion, with the order and maner of repressyng the same.

HAT a testlesse euill herelie is, euer trauailing to bryg furth mischeif, neuer ceasing to pyn-trude al those, in whose hearttes she is receyued to confusion: by what plausible allurements at her entrie she catcheth fauourable intertainment, with what wates of craft and subtelti'e she dilateth her dominion, & finally howe of course she toyleth to be suppozted by faction, sedition, & rebellion, to the great peryll of subuersion of that state where as a plague she happeneth to fynde habitation, aswell the lamentable histozie of the Bohemians & Germaines, with al o-

The dangerous nature of herelie.

ther

ther treating of like enterpzises by heretikes, as also Wyates late conspiracie pzactised with open foꝛce doeth plentuously declare. Who as it should euidētly seme by the trade of his life and the late disclosing of him selfe, was so feruentlye affected to heresie (although he laboured by false persuasion otherwise to haue coloured it) that burninge inwardly with a pzepensed treason in his brest, foꝛ the continuaunce of the same within the realme, he persuaded to himself such an impossibilite therin (the Quenes highnes pzospering & bearing the scepter of high gouernaunce) as could by no meanes be bꝛought about without rebellion, the onely refuge as I sayde that indurate heretikes

haue

Heresie the special grūd of wyates rebellion.

Rebellion the onlye refuge of Heretikes.

haue alwaies sought for maintenaunce of their heresie, liuing vnder a Catholike prince. He therefore beinge thus inflamed could no lenger conteine, but immediatly vpon the beginning of the quenes most happy reigne forsaking his habitation in the countrey, went to Lond̄, of purpose to stirre the duke of Suffolke & his brother, with others of power in further countreys, whom he knew to be like affected to heresies, & consequently to burne in semblable desire for continuaunce of the same: leauing neuertheles suche behynd him in kent to solicite hys and theirs vnhappie cause, whome he knew so much addicted therto as in hys absence for their diligence in such a ministerie needed

vpon pretence that the quene is heresy proue not raigne together.

repaire to London to styrre others to his rebellion.

no ouerlesse. He remayned in London, tyll he thoughte hym selfe throughlye furnyshed e= uerye waye, and euerye where within the realme to attempte hys determined enterpryse, whyche done, he retourned into Kente, not of purpose then to proceede: But vnderstan= dynge his strengthe practised there by his agentes to set thin ges in ordre, and so to retourne to London, abidynge the tyme appoynted therefore by hym and his complices. But so it befell in the meane tyme, that at his beinge in the countrey, the counsell committed a gen= tleman of that shyre to warde, one to whyst about all other moste beare, whereby the com=

wyates re tourne into kente.

Tho. Wootto.

mon

mon bzute grewe, that he ſuſ-
pectinge his ſecretes to bee re-
ueled (and vpon that occaſion
to be ſent foz by the counſel) felt
him ſelfe, as it were foz hys
owne ſuertie, compelled to an-
ticipate his tyme. But whe-
ther that were the cauſe oz no,
doubtfull it is. But certaine it
was, that Wyat the pzoceding
in his deteſtable purpoſe, ar-
med him ſelfe, and as manye as
he coulde: And geuinge intelli-
gence of his determination to
his complices, aſwell at Lon-
don as els where, the Thurſ-
daye after at Maydſton in the
market time, beinge the xxvi.
daye of Januarye, in the fyfte
yere of the queenes raygne, by
pzoclamation in wzitinge pub-
liſhed his deuiliſhe pzetence.

Wyat pre-
uented the
time.

25 January 1553.

The xxvi.
daye of Wya
ts ayde at
Maydſtone.

The cause why wyat made not religion the outwarde pretence of his rebellio

And considerynge with hym selfe, that to make the pretence of his rebellion to bee the restoryng or continuance of the new and newelye forged religion was neither agreable to the nature of herelie (whiche alwaye defendeth it selfe by the name and countenaunce of other matter moore plausible) neyther so apte to further hys wycked purpose, being not a cause so generall to allure al sortes to take parte with hym: he determined to speake no woorde of religion, but to make the colour of hys commotion, only to withstande straungers, and to advaunce libertie. Or as he made hys full reckoninge that suche as accorded with hym in religion, would wholly ioyne with hym in that

The colour of wyates rebellion.

rebellion:

rebellion: Who he trusted that the Catholikes for the moste parte, woulde gladlye imbrace that quarel agaynst the straungers, whose name he tooke to become odible to all sortes, by the seditious and malicious reporte, whiche he and hys hadde maliciously imagined and blowen abrode agaynst that nation, as a preparatiue to their abhominable treason. Hys Proclamation therefore published at Maydstone, and so in other places, persuaded that quarell to be taken in hande only in the defense of the realme from ouerrunnynge by Straungers, and for thaduauncement of libertie. Where in verye dede, hys onely and very matter was the continuaunce of heresye, as by

wyates pre-
parative to
his rebellio

his owne woꝛdes at sundꝛie ti-
mes shal hereafter appeare.

And to the ende the people
should not thinke that he alone
with a fewe other meane gen-
tlemen, had taken that traite-
rous enterpꝛise in hande with-
out cõfoꝛt & ayde of higher po-
wers, he vntruely & maliciously
added further to his pꝛoclama-
tion, by persuasion to the peo-
ple, that all the nobilitie of the
realme, and the whole counsell
(one oꝛ two onelye except) were
agreable to his pꝛetensed trea-
son, & would with all their po-
wer & stregth further the same,
which he found most vntrue to
his subuersiõ. And that the loꝛd
Aburgauenye, the loꝛde War-
den, syꝛ Robert Southwell,
high shyꝛeffe with all other gen

tlemen

vvyates vn
true persua
sions to fur
ther hys re
bellion.

lemen wold ioyne with him in this enterprise, & set they? foote by this to repel the straungers.

This proclamation, and such annexed persuasions made at Maydstone on the market day, and in other partes of the shire, had so wrought in the heartes of the people, that diuers which before hated him, and he them, were nowe as it seemed vpon this occasion, mutually reconciled, and sayde vnto him. Why?, is your quarell onely to defend vs from ouerrunning by straungers, and to aduaunce libertie, and not agaynst the Queene? No, quod Wyat, we mynde nothinge lesse, then anye wyse to touche her grace: but to serue her, and honour her accordyng to our duties. Wel, quod they,

How Wiates ventred persuasions abused the people.

The nature of an heretike is to saie one thinge & thinke another.

gene vs then youre hande, we wyll stycke to you to deathe in this quarrell. That done, there came to hym one other of good wealthe, saiyng: Syr quod he, they saye I loue potage well, I wyll sell all my spones, and al the plate in my house, rather than your purpose shall quayle, and suppe my potage with my mouthe. I truste, quod he, you wyll restore the ryght religion agayne. Whiste, quod Wyat, you maye not so much as name religion, for that will withdraw from vs the heartes of manye: you must only make your quarel for ouerrunninge by straungers. And yet to thee be it sayd in counsell, as vnto my frende, we minde onely the restitution of Gods word. But no wordes.

Wyates owne wordes to proue heresy to be the ground of his rebellion.

By

By these hys wordes it appeared, that hys principall entent was not to kepe out strangers, whiche commonlye doe not inuade to oure hinderaunce, but by rebellion amongest oure selues: nor to aduaunce libertye: whiche euer decayeth thrroughe treason: but to aduaunce heresye, the ladye regent of hys lyfe and doinges. This same thursdaye as Wyat, Thomas Iliey, and others, were occupied at Maydstone with proclamations to styrre the people, & suche lyke: So were others his confederates occupied in lyke maner by proclamations at Mylton, Ashforde, & other townes in the East partes of the shyre. Thrrough whose allurementes the multitude were growen so

earnestly

earnestlye affected to Wyates purpose, that they suffered maister Christopher Roper (a man of good worshippe, and so esteemed of the) to be taken of Wyates ministers, and caried out of the market place, wythoute any maner of rescue, for that he haulnge his heart and eye full fixt upon the queene, not onelye withstode the readinge of Wyates traiterous proclamation at Milton, but also in the same place proclaimed him, & al hys traytours. And beynge roughlye charged therewith by Wyat and other his galauntes when he was broughte to Rochester, he answered, this tonge spake it, and doeth now auowe it. They suffred maister Tucke also, & maister Dozrel of Calehyll

Thapprehension of maister Christopher Roper by the rebels

maister Christopher Ropers wozds to wyat.

hyll beinge gentlemen of good worshyppe, and Justices of peace, to bee taken out of theyr houses by the Rebelles, and conueyed withoute anye maner of rescue, in the daye tyme to Rochester, beynge twentye miles distant, where they with maister Roper were kepte as pryſoners in great daunger of life. In lyke maner syr Henrye Isleye, Antonye Kneuet, William Kneuet with others, were at Tunbridge, Seuenoke, and other townes in the West partes of the shyre, styrringe the people by alarummes, drummes and proclamations.

Thappreh sion of maister Tucke and maister Dozrel.

Now ye shal vnderstād that the euening afore the publishig his pretence at Maydestone, Wyat sent a letter by one Thomas

How wyat wrote to the shirefe of his entēt to styre.

wrote Wyonde (a man of muche honestie) to sir Robert Southwell being Sheref of the shyre, vnto whome longe afore as I can vnderstande, he had neither spoken nor written other then in disaunce, they being in contention for matters of religion as it was said. Neuertheleſſe to ſerue his purpoſe, diſſembling his great malice and haute courage, he wrote a letter to him of ſuche effect as foloweth.

The effecte of wyates letter to sir Robert Southwell Shireffe of Kent.

After hearti commendatiõs there hathe been betwene you and me many quarelles and grudges, and I euer the ſuffe-rer, & yet haue you ſought thẽde,

which

which is now frēdly offered vnto you, if you be willinge to receyue it. But whatsoeuer priuat quarell you haue to me, I doubte not but your wisedome is so muche, seyng so manye perils at hande to vs both (this pretensed mariage taking effect) to differre frō vs in so greate a purpose, as wherin we abyde determined to ventre for the common wealthe of the whole realme. And that you may the better vnderstand our pretence, I send you the copie of our proclamatiō comprehendinge the somme and effect of our meaning, whervnto if the common wealth shal fynde you an enemy, saye not hereafter but that you were frēdly warned. we forbeare to write to the lorde Aburgaueny, for what you maye do with him, if you list we know.

The

The stile of wyates proclamation.

A proclamation agreed vnto by Thomas wyat, George Harper, Henry Isleye knightes, and by diuers of the best of the wyte, sent vnto the Commons of the same.

Wyates stile presumption of the best of the wyte.

FOrasmuch as it is nowe spred abrode, & certenly pronounced by the lordes Chancelour & other of the counsell, of the queenes determinate pleasure to marry with a straunger. &c. We therefore wryte vnto you, because you be our neyghbours, because you bee our frendes, and because you be englishmen, that you wyll ioyne with vs, as we wil with you vn to death in this behalfe, protesting vnto you before God that no other earthlye cause coulde

Because.

moue

maue vs vnto this enterprise,
but this alone, wherin we seke
no harme to the quene, but bet-
ter counsel & counselours, which
also we would haue foꝛbꝛne in
al other matters sauing only in
this. Foꝛ herin lieth the helth &
welth of vs al. Foꝛ trial herof &
thinstes pꝛoꝛe of this intended
purpose: Lo nowe euen at hand,
Spaniardes be nowe alreadye
arriued at Douer at one passage
to the numbꝛe of an hundꝛeth
sailing bpwarde to London, in
companies often, foures and vi.
with harnes, harquebusses and
mꝛyans with match light, the
foꝛwardest company wherof be al-
readie at Rochester. We shal re-
quire you therfoꝛe to repaire to
such places as the bearers her-
of shal pꝛonounce vnto you, there

Such coũsel-
lers he mea-
neth as wold
fauour here-
sie, &c.

Lo loud lie.

to

to assemble & determine what may be best for thadvancement of libertie and common wealth in this behalfe, & to bring with you suche ayde as you may.

The ende of wyates proclamation,

The messenger that brought the letter with the proclamatiō from Wyat to the shiresse being not priuie to the cōtentes therof, & hauing charge vpō his life to returne an answere with all spede, importuned the Shyreff so muche therfore (although he sawe him greatly hurryed in geuing aduertisemēt throughout the shire of Wyates traiterous determinatiō) as he neuertheles to satisfie ye messēger whō he knewe to bee a right honest

man

tayntly kno w aswel by my speech
to hym selfe, as wher meanes
sowing to his knowledge, that
I haue sithes the beginning of
the queenes raygne holden him
and some of his colleges in this
cõspiracie behemently suspected
for like matters, as nowe they
haue attempted. Wherin seinge
he hath not deceiued me, but by
opening him self hath manifestly
confirmed mine opinion conceiued
of him, I purpose not to pas
ouer his seemelesse seruice, and
for the same of him to lose my
self & my posteritie in perpetuall
infamie. And if I finde (by the
meanes) his sonde hath bene
sharped for perilles, to the con-
demnation of the whole wife-
dome of the realme (the fallowes
of the same for good) had bene
in

in dede as perillous, as he with
others, for want of due consider
ration, perceyth them, his duetie
had ben to haue opened his opi-
nion therin as an humble & re-
uerent petitioner to the quenes
highnes, or to some of her gra-
ce counsaile. But to presse hys
bodie armed in any sorte or vpon
any assemblie with weapon & ba-
nour by strength her subiectes
to rebellion, that is and alwaies
hathe ben accompted the part
of most arrogant and presump-
tuous traytours, and so doe I
note them and his fellowes, you
may tell them, if God by pu-
nishinge prouide for the accordingly.
Howe good man Woode it
shalbe in youre choise whether
you will beare this message or
no. But as yourfriende I shall

aduise you to take quite better
company. The messenger excu-
sing him selfe by ignorance, de-
sired to know what suche answere.
And soone after returned to the
Duchesse vnder whome he serued
the quene, saying that his ma-
ster (the sherif having made pre-
uie of it) hadde heard say, that
to his importune petitions she
might be sone disposed, & wan-
ted no good will, as he should
perceiue, with the helpe of the lorde
Hastynges, whom he had sup-
posed as then to haue satisfied the
request of his late proclamatiō
at Stonye stratford. Whiche folow-
ynge, and the displeasure that hereof
grewe, diuers gentlemen & yeomen in
all hastie wise sent vnto vs at before
he could gather power inough to
attempte the stoppyng of suche
a force

a foyce (sundrie of hys neyghbours of greatest possessions, & to wose most popularous, whiche should haue been his chief aide, being cótrary bent) Wyat accõpanied wt a foyce well armed & weaponed marched to Rochester. The same thursday, Harpet & other meting him in ꝑ way, when fortifying the East partes of the towne, & breakings vp ꝑ bridge towards the West, he abode the comminge of hys appoynted strength, suffring al passengers to passe quietye throughe the towne to Londõ, or to ꝑ sea, taking nothing frõ them but only theyr weapon. And beynge the Fridaye all daye at Rochester, and not hearyng from Allyn, the captaine of Tunbridge, and other his cõpartes of the West

part of the thyze, he adzeffed an earnest letter the Saterdays mornynge to Iffey, the Kneuetes, and other, wyth the towne of Tunbzidge, requiringe them to accelleate theyz comminge vnto him. Accozdyng whereunto Iffey, the Kneuetes, with other beinge newlye returned from Penshurste, where they buried Syz Henry Sydneye his armoure (he beynge attendaunte vppon the Quenes highnes as a fayethfull subiect) perceyuinge Wyat to longe for theyz commynge, resolued to obserue theyz promise, & marche forwardes that night towardes Wyat. But vnderstandinge that the Lozde Aburgauenny, the Shiriffe, and George Clerke hadde nowe

The rifling of sir Hery Sidney his armoure.

gathered

gathered a fote, & dyde preſſe to encounter them, ſith they departed out of the towne, they thought it good by ſome kinde of proclamation to alienate the peoples hearties from them, as they did in maner folowinge.

The copie of the proclamation made at Tunbridge by ſyr Henry Iſley, Antonye Knuet, and his brother with other.

YOu ſhal vnderſtand that Henrye lorde Aburgauenye, Robert Southwell knight, George Clerke gentleman, haue moſt traiterouſly to the diſturbance of the common wealthe, ſtyred and rayſed vp the Queenes moſt louing ſubiectes of this realme, to defend the moſt wicked & deuiliſhe enterpriſe of certeine of ỹ wicked

and peruerse counselers, to the vtter confusion of this hys Graces realme, and the perpetuall seruitude of all the Queenes most louing subiectes. In consideration wherof, we sir Thomas Wyat knight, syr George Harper knight, syr Henrye Isleye knight, Anthonye Kneuet Esquier, with all the faythfull Gentlemen of Kent, and trusty commons of the same, do pronounce the sayd Henry Lord Aburgauenny, Robert Southwell, and George Clerke gentleman, to be traytours to God, the crowne, and the common wealthe.

This done, with all speede calling their company together by noyes of drummes, and leauinge their directe waye to Rochester

Rochester, for that they shoulde not come vnder the ruling of the Lorde Aburgauenye, and the shiriefe, that marched that nyght to Weuenocke. Takynge order with such as were left behinde in the towne, that they shoulde be in a readines to come when soeuer they shoulde be sent for by Wyat, & that by no wayes they shoulde beleue anye tales. For (quod they) the counsayle will sowe sendes abrode straunge lies and tales to discredite vs, and discomforte you, for it is their policie. Anonye a mother after he was lept to hys horse, toke one by the hand, and sayd: fare you well. And yf you hap to heare that I am taken, neuer beleue it, for vndoubtedlye I wyll eyther die in the fielde,

wt mayne my purpose. But wit
in fourte and twenty houres he
brake his promise, and came
awaye no faſter then his legges
could carye hym.

The herauld
des cõming
to Rochest.

Well, I shal now leaue them
marchinge to Wellenocke, and
retourne to Wyat at Rochester.
This present saterday came vn
to him frõ the queenes highnes
an herauld and a trumpetour.
Wyat at the sound of the trum
pette came to the bridge, where
the herauld was with his cote
armour carrynge the armes of
England on his back. But Wyat
without shewing any reuerence to
hym either for his cote of office,
wolde not suffer him to come
into the towne to declare his
message. & pretending to come in hy
offered

ffered to strike him: wherupo
he herauld stayed & did his me
age there, so that onely wyat
with a fewe with him heard it.
which as men could gather be
epoze of the thas heard it, was
promise of pardone to as many
s would retier to their houses
within .xx. houres after the
poclamation, & become good
ubiectes. But Wyat would
ot suffer his souldiours in a
y wise to heare it, noz anye o-
her proclamation commynge
om the queene. In the meane
me also syz Thomas Cheyne
yde Warden, beinge a moste
ythfull and noble Subiecte,
nd sent him suche salutations
s of honour aughte to be bled
a traitour. And beinge verie
strous to be doing with him,

The Lorde
Wardens
greetinge to
Wyat.

and

and to proue on his bodie, wher
in moodes of greuenge he did
affirme, false yet by his discre
tion and long experience great
causes of feare. For what pet
ti matching mete then his com
pinges furth, perswadinge that
he wanted no frendes about
hym, nor any other that would
take in hande to represse hym
with force gathered in that
shyre. And undoubtedly doubt
full were the heartes of the
people, and mercyloufye bent
to fauoure Wyat and hys pur
pose, as by dayly euentes ap
peared. The lord Aburgauen
and the shiref, who the Mater
daye nexte after Wyates flyte
were at Wallinge in the way
towardes Rochester (wher
Wyat lay) hauing with them
company

companye of well appoynted
subiectes, in whome not wythe
standyng for the moze parte they
had good opinion of trouthes
mainteynaunce, yet hauyng the ge-
neral cause of the peoples misfor-
tune in their eyes and not mistrus-
tyng parte of sturdynge in their
mindes am obtayll so many sayth
full a good fame such robes, spe-
cyall trust of whose trustines and
faith ayde, it were no good
policie to aduenture farre: pon-
deryng therewith that syns th-
affection of the people wherebye
they were so farre drawen from
their right course and duetye,
greate chaungye by suche ruin-
ous and false persuasions as
Wyat and his mates had sette
furthe in sundrie partes of the
shyre, by waye of proclamation

in wyating, wherein amonge
thyer greate ayes they bandt
the th also matters of untrue
to discredit the lyade Quee
wyng and the shyreffe, as W
to his perswasions, that th
wolde ioyne with hym. W
Wherin his proclamation, th
fyrst had traiterously assaul
the Quenes louinge subiect
against her grace & the realm
Wherunto the very good
necessary to spende some tyme
at the allinge in admonishinge and
lessening the multitude, and
way of exhortatiō to withdra
thole traiterous proclamation
and reuell suche greate and fal
hies thereon conteigned, and t
nally to disswade the people (wh
that day drewe the matter to
were assembled to a greate

...ze of al sortes) from the treys-
...tours & their attemptes, and
...rfyngly the Shyrife had
...ned an exhortatiō to that pur-
...pose, whiche was pronounced
...eat of writing in Shaltirly and
...ent after by hym into other
...partes. The hearinge whereof,
...yd vndoubtedly, muche moue
...the people, as after Shaltir-
...peare. I shal repeat the same in
...ubstaunce truely, howe be it
...not fullye in the same fourme
...and maner as I founde it, and
...as it was penned and pronoun-
...ced by the Shyrefe. Who in thise
...seraunse and settinge, furthe
...hereof, spared not to speake
...playnlye and touche sharplye,
...as then the present tyme and
...ase imployed vehement occa-
...sion

An ex-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

proclamations, and in the same
beginning and pronouncing other
as traytours, whome ye sayne
ye thinke to haue been frends vnto
your prince, true & faythfull subiects
vnto the queene & this realme, con-
trary to your othes: as the lorde Mayor
gentlemen here present, my fellowes
and other gentlemen now present
and readye with you accordyng
to your duetyes to serue our noble
queene: I shall nede to spende
the leste time to declare vnto
you, what euill they be, & how
vnlike their enterprise is, that they
haue taken in hande: for although
they of their hed arrogant presump-
tion and presumptuous pryde in
aduauncing them selues, do fur-
nish all treuth, and in deny ng
of the, so maliciously for to exe-
cutinge their bounden duetie,

Sothat ſo lofe a fwo thurthet, ys ſo ill
ys to vſeth ſo bitwene vſtane, with
ſtraungers as thei, if any ſuche
thing bee: mete yat for yat is
beſte to moſt certenly, thath thei ſo
vnete no ſtatute of ſtatutes to ſet by
ſyche ſtrangers, ybut rather vnd
puniſh, a remayne againſt ſuche
bolages our auncients ygemeten
with ſo ſore thet as ygſt ſtrangers
ygeſeen to ſtrange do ſur dede
anſwerly, & bud generally ſayen
bis to bergeaces bedde wid ſpeed
pany ille ſowhat woe ſtane be fide
ſuche tatis omoſt penyſ agayn
yre Del. I cannot gyderno fai
pato pa, but bygerſtanding thi
querues beſtowings and a true ſeruice
ſtrait pynceſſe trable vnders agayn
Determined ſo pardon aſwaying
ne by ſhei ſtrangers ybeceyte
ſuſpycyons, ys ocherſtanſt

and ſubiect vnto this laſt treaſon, ſo that repayring to their habitations within Englande, they ſee all ſuch her graces proclamations redy & become true ſubiectes to her graces, to abuſe ſuch as hath to doe part with thoſe traitors, or haue ſuſpition vpon them ſelues ſo trauie to their allegiance, from thenceforth ſeruing of their ſouereigne according to their duties against her enemies, thall be lawfull to accept and imbrace her moſt gracious pardon, and by meanes of them ſelues to apprehend thoſe arrant & principall traitours, & make a preſent of them to the quenes highnes, or leaue the to them ſelfes as moſt deteſtable traitours: who being once ſo graciouſly and mercifully ſorgeuen coulde not but

cary the ciuill sworde as the lawe is
ryght wourthy so were further and
of all obedience: whiles there ha-
uoy it ther had been any spirite
of grace in them. And further I
haue to say vnto you, þ as ryght
worthy by theis proclamatiõs
without authoritie haue moued
you to ryse against the queene
pour souereigne, and appointed
you places, where to meete & con
sulte for þ furtherance of their
traiterous purpose, so to bring to
you such aid as you can, so shall
I require you; & in her graces
name charge you that bee her
present, not to come there, but
that you and such as be absent
taking knowledge hereby, repair
to such places as þ the queenes
highnesse & officers shall appoynt
you, with such ayde as you can

bring

bring for the better seruice of y
quene in the shire, wher you shal
be assured to receiue comforte,
thankes, and honestie to thende
of youre liues and your posteri-
tie. And thother waye but endle-
les shame and beter bndoinge
to you and yours, whiche shall
be inspired youre selues, and
yet in great griefe to your pore
neighbours, whose abuse in all
other pestilente causes you
haue been content to folowe, &
now in this moste weightiest that
hathe or maye happen to you,
will refuse the and folowe them
that hathe euer abused you to
your greter vttre confusion.

God saue quene Mary and
all her true subiectes.

James Berham

The shireff readinge this exhor-
tation, caused one Warrham a
gentleman and seruaunt to the
lorde Abergauenny to pronoūce
it as he read it, so loude and so
distinctlye as the people assem-
bled rounde about hym to a be-
ries great number in maner of a
cinge might easly here and vn-
derstand euery worde proceding
frō Warrham, who of his owne
head dealed out vnto them: Yon
mayster so muche as ipkte vp
your finger against your kyng
or quene. And after the people
had heard the shireffes exhor-
tation, they cried God saue quene
Marie, which they did moste
heartely, spending therin a con-
uenient tyme, the shyreffe vsed
these wordes vnto them. Mai-
sters (quod he) although I am
.i. Ex lons

lorde dyd speake vnto you, yet
what woordes were spoken too
you by me were also spoken to
you by the lorde Aburgauenye
and all the gentlemen here pre-
sent; in whose persons I then
spake, and now require at your
handes as playne and resolute
answere. Why you nowe ther-
fore to the ende such as you see
euidently to be great traitours,
were with the lord Aburgauen-
ny and suche gentlemen as you
see here present, shall lyue time
inough with you in defense of our
right full quarell against these
traitors & this people with out
blowes defend. Wyate answe-
reth, la gogra ci tra trayters and
false theues we will spede
them hand vnbuttoned ynough. For
Wherefore in defense &c quarell

The shiref
fes speche to
the multi
tude.

The peo
ples answer
to the shiref

Marie they wouldē aye vpon them, expressinge their myndes with suche earnest shoutes and cries, as shewed to procede hym fayredly frō their hartes, which after was confirmed by a better experience the day folowing as ye shall anone here. But by the waye ye shall vnderstande that Wyat hearing of this proclamation, sayde: I knowe that Barram well, but yet I neuer trusted hym to haue so wyde a wyndpype, yf I liue I may happely stoppe his wynde ere a fewe more in another place. Whan this towne coulde then haue become of this matter? On the Saturdaye folowinge the lorde Abergauenny the shiref and the rest of the gentlemen were determined to haue watched in the

wyates promise of Barrams retwarde.

the morninge earelye towardes Rochester to haue ayded the duke of Norfolke and sir Henrye Cernyngham captain of the garde then being at Grauesende towardes Wyat with a certain bande of whitecotes to the number of. vi. C. sent vnto them frō London, whereof Bret and others were their captaines. Roger Appulton gentleman was also at Grauesende with the duke attendant to serue, where in lykewyse was Thomas Swaine gentleman.

The Duke of Nork. & sir Henrye Cernighās commynge to Grauesende.

Roger Appulton and Thomas Swan trusty gētlemē.

This saterdaye at night the lorde Aburgauenny suspectinge that Wyat and hys complyces lyynge within foure myles of them, and beinge so muche prouoked, in that they were in the day so rightly set forthe in their

colours at Walling, would for
reuengewoorke some annoiaūce to
thē or his bād that night, either
by a camisado or by some other
meane, did therefore to preuent
the same set a stronge watch in
the market place at Wallynge
and other partes of entrie into
the towne: and gaue the watch
word him selfe before he wolde
take any rest. But betwene one
& two of the clocke in the night
when euerye bodie was taken
to rest sauing the watche, there
happened a larom, sundrie cri-
inge: treason, treason, we are al
betraied, in such sort that suche
as wer in their beddes or new
lye risen, thoughte verely that
either Wyat with his band had
been in the towne or very nere.
The thing was so soden & hap-
pened

Thē lorde Abergauenī set the watche in perill

A larom at Walling.

pened in such a time as men not acquaynted with lyke matters were sodainely assailed, that some of them knewe not well what to do. and yet in thend it proued to nothing. For it greewe by a messenger that came verye late in the nighte desiryng to speake with the lorde Aburgauenny or maister shireff to geue them certaine aduertisemẽt that sir Henrie Isleye, the two Kneuettes and certayne other with. v. C. weldithe menne were at Sevenocke, and woulde marche in the morning early from thence towardes Rochester, for the ayde of Wyat againste the duke of Norff. and in their waie burne and distroi the house of George Clarke aforesaied. Wherupon the Lord Aburgauenny and the

A meanigeof the rebels to bourne master George Clarkes house.

shiresse by thaduise of the gentlemen afore named, for that the saied Clarke had been a painful and seruiceable gentleman, chaunged their purposed iourney for Rochester, to incounter with Ashley and hys bandes, to cutte them from Wyat & saue Clarke from spoile. And so in the morning earely being sundaye, the lord Abergauenye the shiresse, Watts Bétleger, Richard Cauerd, Thomas Roydon, Antony Weldon, Henry Barney, George Clarke, John Dodge, Th. Watton, Heughe Catlyn, Thomas Henley, Christopher Dorrel, Heughe Cartwright, John Sybill Esquiers, John Clarke, Maister of Wrotham, Thomas Chapman, James Barram, Jasper Iden, Johan Lambe,

The merching of the lord Abergauenny and the shiriffe too incounter Ashley.

Walter

Walter Heronden, Walter Tay
lor, John Raynoldes, Thomas
Tuttesham. John Allen, and
Thomas Holdiche gentlemen
with yomen to the nũber of .vi.
C. or there aboute merched oute
of Wallinge in order tyll they
came to Wrotham heath, where
thei mought easely here the so-
unde of the traitours drõmes, &
so makinge haste pursued them
till they came to a place called
Barrows grene, thorough which
laye their right and redie waye
that the traitours shoulde take
merching from Sevenocke to-
wardes maister Clarke.

Wrotham heathe.

Barrowe greue.

The lorde Aburgauenny beinge
verye glad that he had preven-
ted them in winning the grene,
sent out spialles to vnderstande
their nerenesse, and to diserue

their numbre, reposinge them
selues there tyl the retourne of
his spialles, who at their com
minge, saied that he neded not
to take further paynes to pur
sue them. For thei were at hand
commynge towardes hym as
fast as they could march, which
was gladde tydynges to the
lorde Aburgauenye and hys
bande. And taking order furth
with to sette his men in araye,
he determined to abide they
commynge, and there to take
or geue the ouerthrow. Which
the traitours vnderstandynge,
whether it was for that they
misliked the match, or the place
to fight, whiles the lorde Abur
gauenye and his band were bu
sye in placing them selues, they
shranke as secretlye as they
coulde

The thrin-
kinge of the
rebels.

coulde by a bie waie. And were
so farre gone before the Lorde
Aburgauenie vnderstode ther-
of by his spialles, as for doubte
af ouertaking them afore their
comming to Rochester, he was
driuen to make suche haste for
the ouertakinge of them, as di-
uers of his fote men were farre
behinde at the onset geuinge.
The first sighte that the Lorde
Aburgauenie could haue of the
after thei forsoke their purpo-
sed waie, was as thei ascended
Wrotham hill directlie ouer
Yaldam, Maister Peckams
house, where thei thinkinge to
haue great aduauntage by the
winning of ỹ hil displaied their
ensignes brauelie, seeminge to
be in great ruffe. But it was
not longe after or their corage
was

The display-
nge of the
rebels en
signes.

was abated. For the lord Aburgauenye, the shirrefe, and the rest of the gentlemen, with such other of the queenes true and faiethfull subiectes, as with great paynes takinge to clyme the Hyll, and to holde waye with the horsemen, ouertoke the rebelles at a fielde called Blackefoll fielde in the parishe of Wrotham a mile distant frō the very top of the Hyll, where the lorde Aburgauenny, the shyrefe, the gentlemen aforenamed, and other the queues true & faithfull subiectes handled thē so hotte & so fiercly, that after a smale shot with long bowes by the traytours, & a fierce braggy shewed by some of the horsemen, they toke theyr flighte away as fast as they coulde. Yet

The rebels ouertaken.

Blackefoll fielde.

The skyrmisshe.

of them were taken pryſoners
aboute thre ſhore. In thys con-
flict Maccaut ſo entleger (who
brought with him a good com-
pany of ſouldyours) & diuerſes
ſeruitable gentlemen ſlayn &c=
pecially Charles Antony Knyuet,
and Richard de Clarke, with
thyrtye honeſtye bachelers them felowſ.
Wyatt the entleger hearyng
of a freſhe ſupplye, betweene
the Kinges graſe & thabeſtes
ende the tray ſtones, came in the
hole Burgatterye into the field
with all haſte, more than houre be-
fore the ſkirmiſhe, who with
the reſt of the gentlemen with
certayne of the bodye Burgat-
teryes, and [illegible] ſeru-
auntes, bet[illegible] all the all hoy-
ſed ferned faſtyſhe, and from
thence chaſed the horſmen, ſpill
they

The chase of the horsemen.

they came to a woode called Hartley woode foure miles distant from the place where the ryote begonne. The Queenes true subiectes did su miche abhorre their treason, and had the traitours in suche detestation, that with great diligence and wonderfull courage assembled with their horses to the number of fyue hundred men, and also great plentie of armed footemen, and had also great store of ordinance, and so with displayed ensignes, and sounde of trumpet, and other warlike instrumentes, they followed the traitours, and found them in the woode ready to fight with them in battaile. The traitours seeing that they were so hastily pursued by their foes, and that they were driuen to fight, or else to be taken, they determined to fight, and so they did, and slewe of the Queenes people to the number of fyftie men, and hurte many more, and lost of their owne company to the number of two hundred men, and so they fled, leauing their ordinance, and other furniture behinde them, and so they escaped from their enemies, and continued in their rampage

rampage of their hose. The chase continued so longe as nyghte came on before it was full finished. Thus was Alley, the knaueries and their bande ouerthrowen by the faythfull seruice of diuers gentlemen and yomen seruinge vnder the lorde Mountgarueys and the shyreffe, whose forwardenesse, forage, and dayly doynge, in this trayterous tyrayle, no doubte was deserueth muche prayse worthie, as well for their spedie accelleration of their strength, which (consydering how they were euerye where compassed with the traitors) was no smale matter in so litle space, and for their wise and politique handlinge also in despatche them together from Wyatt, who meryloushye and

by

by sundrie wayes sought t
allure them a way. For had n
they in their owne persone t
the encouraginge of their com
paunye aduentured farre, an
by their wisedome, discreation
and greate charge, politelye
handled the matter, some thin
that wyat hadde been at Lo
don before he was loked for b
wyse godman, with no smal
trayne: whose iourneye was
greatly hindered, and hys com
paunye berye muche discomfite
by this repulse geuen to Iffley
and his band. Where amongst
other thinges Gods secret hid
was greatly felt to ye great com
fort & present ayd of true subie
tes against the traitours; whi
hauinge suche aduauntage o
the place (as in dede they had)
were

weue lyke rather to gyue them
selues to soule an ouerthrowe.
But this it is (you see) to serue
ill & vile causes, and her whome
God so fauoureth, that he wyll
not suffer the malice and rage
of her enemies at anye tyme to
preuaile against her: to whome
he hath geuen so many notable
victories and soo miraculous,
that her enemies mygthe seme
rather to haue ben ouerthrowe
spiritu Dei then banquished viua-
no robore. The lorde Abergaue-
nenny the shiriffe and the gentle-
men with them, after they had
geuen humble thankes to God
for the victorie (whiche they did
verie reuerentlye in the fielde)
& taken order for the prisoners,
were dryue to deuide the selues
for wante of harborowghe, and
vitaille

Thankes geuen too GOD for victorie.

victaile for the souldiours that had well deserued bothe. The lorde Aburgauenny and certen with him wente to Wrotham. The shireffe & certen with hym to Otforde, where they hadde muche to doo to get victaile for theyr souldiours. The lorde Aburgauenny and the shiriffe suspecting that some of those gentlemen lately discōfeted in thys skirmishe woulde not longe tarie in the realme, but make shifte to passe the seas, yea, and by spiall vnderstandinge Wyat hym selfe with some of hys company therunto bent, deuised to lay the countree aboute, that they moughte not escape. And cōsidering that they woulde not do it at Douer nor in that coste, they knowing the lorde Warden to

haue

haue suche watche vnto theim: but rather for fundzie respectes at Rye or moore Southward, and hauynge greate mouse of Thomas Dozrell the younger hys fidelitie, he retourned the same Dozrell, being newly come vnto hym with .lxx. men well appoynted into Sussex, geuing hym streight charge that consulting with sir Iohan Guyldfozde, they should both day and nighte set sure watche for the passinge of any that way to the sea coste, & further to take suche ozdre as no munitio, fishe, wyne or other vitaile comming out of those partes should passe to the releif of the traitozs. Antony Knieuet, notwithstanding great and streight watche layed rounde about the countres

Thomas Dozrell of Beotney the younger.

by the diligence for thappyehendi-
on of him and other that need
assoyled that sundaye at nyghte
late at Rochester, where hys
neighbours were so loyall, that yat
perfurthwith found the meane
to ridde him selfe out of their co-
panye without any leaue taking
and ran to the duke of Norff.
to whome he semed so greatlye
to lamente hys treason, that the
duke pitieinge hys case (the ra-
ther for the longe acquaintance
betweene them in tymes paste)
receiued him too grace. But
within a daye after he ran from
the duke and returned to hys
olde maste, as hereafter shall ap-
pere. Wyat heareinge of Abers
his ouerthrowe, and vnderstan-
dinge by the proclaming at Mal-
linge the daye before that thyse

yd

thynges

Sir Harpers
challenge a-
gaynst Wyat.

thinges lette vnethe in his pro-
clamations, whereby he thought
his strength at home to be most
surely knit vnto him, were nowe
become rather a weakenynge
then otherwise. The people there
being readie to fall from him for
his so abusinge of them, he fell
into so great extreme anguishe
and sorowe, as writing a letter
of expostulation to some of his
familiars abrode, in reprehen-
sion of their infidelitie, in that
they kepte not so him so fast
as they promised, he bedewed
the paper whereupon he wrote
with teares falling so abundant-
ly from his eyes, as it would
beare no inke, and so leaving to
write, callinge for a pynte pot
that he had quaffed with angels
nobles, whiche nowe he

wyat bewai
ling his case
with teares

wiates pote
of bere quyt
ted with an
gels.

ferue bothe for his defense, and
ſeinge for hys neceſſitie beinge
in another countrey, he practiſed
with ſuche as were nere vnto
him where they moughte haue
eaſie paſſage and moſt for their
ſuertie to take the ſea. For En-
glande, ſayed he, is no place for
hē to reſt in. His company alſo
ſhrunke frō him as faſte as they
coulde deuiſe meanes to eſcape:
Whereunto Thomas Wyate and
others had a greater reſpecte
for himſelfe, he ſemyng to take
care for nothinge, but howe he
moughte ſafely conuey himſelfe,
beinge well prouided, as it was
thought, with ſome of the ſhip-
maſters. But this was not yet ſo mated by
the lorde Aburgeuenny, the ther-
fore and their bandes as he was

wyates practiſe to flye by ſea.

at his wittes ende, as ye haue
hearde, and cheifely by keepynge
him from that, whiche by spiall
about hym they after warde vn-
derstode him specially to desire,
whiche was offer of battail: he
and his beinge fully persuaded
that there coulde bee no greate
force raised agaynst him in the
ayre, wherof the moste parte
should not be his, when it shuld
come to the shewe, wherby al-
though he mought be deceiued
as in dede he was, yet his quar-
rell with the disposition of the
people thereunto well consider-
ed, with the end of hys trauell
which coulde be but spoyle and
rauen, redy meanes and lures
to drawe the careles multitude
vnto him: It semed to the lorde
Aburgauenny & suche as semed

with hym better policie for to
werye Wyat & weaken hym by
the cutting away of his strength
from him, then to offer hym bat
tell tyll the duke of Norffolkes
comming: whome the lorde A
bergauenny & the shyrisse knewe
to be at hand towardes Wyat:
vnto whom they and al the gen
tlemen of their band after their
seuerall wise with Jlley, made the
hastie possible they myght.
But before their comming the
case was wonderfully chaūged
to the great discomforte of all
the quenes true subiectes: for
that came to passe that of al this
was left vnfeared. For who doubt
eth that suspecteth such cruel and
malicious disposicō to remaine
in Wyat? Englishe hearte to
wardes hys countrye & all
subiectes

subiectes throughout so muche de-
sowerynge, that receyuynge
her greatest aduersaryes, weapon
and money, wolde haue play-
ed so traiterous a part as these
captaynes did with theyr bande
Yt is so straunge a case as the
wolde neuer haue. Yt is so malic
ious a pact, as the Jewe wolde
nor haue done the like, hauynge
receyued his hyre to serue.
Thus it was that the noble
Duke beynge an auncient and
worthy captayne, yet by long
imprisonment so sore wonted
from the knowledge of our mat
ters of the world, & the iniquitie of
our times, as the suspectinge mo
rather lesse than more then
followed by our iudgynge euery
man bolde within in dis
sente to serue truelye, marched

The dukes marchynge frō strowde to Rochest.

farthe the Monday aboute tenne of the clocke in the mornynge from Graueſende to Strowd towardes Rocheſter, and aboute foure of the clocke in the after noone of the ſame day he arriued at Strowd ouer vnto Rocheſter, haunynge with him the captayne of the garde, Maurice Griffith now biſhop of Rocheſter, Sir Edwarde Wayte, ſir Johan Fogge knyghtes, Johan Couerte, Roger Appulton eſquiers, and Thomas Swan gentleman, with certayne of the garde, and other to the nombar of C. C. or there aboute, beſides Wyet and other fiue captaynes, who with their bandes beynge fiue hundred all in whitecoates tarried behinde at a hyll called Spittell hyll,

The names of the gentlemen lerning vnder the duke,

Wyet chiefe captayne of the whitecoates.

nere vnto Strowd, whyles the Duke went to Strowde to see the planting of the ordinaunce. Whiche beinge readie charged and bente vppon the towne of Rochester, and perceyuynge Wyat and the other traytours by hanginge out of theyr flagges vpon the bridge wall, to be in great bravery, whiche considering the miserable state they were in the night before, coulde not be (hadde they not receyued some newe comforte by some trayterous meane,) the Duke commaunded one of the peices to be fired for shotte into Rochester. And as the gunner was fyeringe the piece, syr Edwarde Brayes eldest sonne came in all the hast to the Duke sayinge. Syr dyd not I tell youre

grace

grace this morninge that yond
false wretches wold deceiue yo
Howe know you that quod th
Duke, why lyr (q. Braye) you
maye see them as false crayture
bent agaynst you. And immed
atly Bret and other captayne
of the whitcoates with they
bande being vpon the hyll an
at the backe of the duke, mad
greate and loude houtes fur
dzie tymes tripnge: we are a
englishe men, we are all englishe
men, fashioninge them selue
in araye readie bent with the
weapons to set vpon the duk
if he had made any resistaunc
Whereupon the duke and th
Captayne of the Garde com
maunded the pieces that wer
bent vppon the towne, to be
fourned vppon Bret and hi
bande

The reuolt of the Captaines of the whitcotes & their band.

bande. But vpon further consi-
deration the thofte was spared.
And the Dukes grace with the
captayne of the Garde fyr Henry
Guyldeford conducted the
nor without bledinge hearted
theyr whole strength thus tour-
ned vpon theim, so that they
were fowle enstroyed bothe be-
hynde and before with trayte-
rous enemies, whiche theim
selues were, as bee all the
company. After whose depar-
ture Wyat accompanied with
two or three and not many moe,
came oute of Rochester halfe a
mile from the towne at the lest,
too where the fyue Captaines of
the whytecoates. Amongest
whome was Harper, notwith-
standinge hys crouchinge and
kneelinge before the Duke, and

Harper re-
tourned to
his olde
mate.

faire

fatre promises that he would
vndertake that Wyate should
haue yelded. Who fetinge a fote
the other Captaynes, with hys
fwoode drawen, saide to Wyat.
I promised you a good tourne and
Lye not nowe, but I haue paied
it. Who had seen the vnbys-
singe, clyppynge and congra-
ulation vsed at thys metynge,
frome traytour to traytour,
myghte wishe wonder therat.
Shortly after they had wel cla
wed one another, they went to-
gether lyke theym selues into
Rochester. When this of all o-
ther moste infortunate chaunce
came to the knowledge of the
Lorde Aburgauenye, the ch-
tesse & their frendes, they wer
not a litle troubled with the
straungenes of the case, much
doubting

doubtinge that the people whi-
che before seemed to be brought
to good frame, woulde be im-
paired by this alteration, and
suche as were afore euill dispo-
sed woulde not be greatlye a-
mended thereby.

The shireffe beinge the same
night at Maydstone, that had
come the same daye from Ot-
forde fourteene myles distaunte
to meete with Thomas Guil-
forde, Stephen Dorrell, Ed-
ward Hasden, John Robartes
and John Finche Esquiers, to
marche towardes the Duke,
and in the mornynge soo farre
from any mistrust of that whi-
che folowed the same daye at
Rochester, as haumge no sure
place to conueye the prisoners
taken the daie before in the skir-
mishe

The shireffes being at Maydston.

The thirtie fes secrete retourne to Mallinge.

serue, & hauyng no sure place
for them to make any abode, nor
yet good policie, at parles cõfidẽ
red, to disclose the time of their
mounting, but subtelye playyng
their false thyonly murder of these
parties, wherein the trespassers
obteined ioy, hauing many waies in
to their handes, some of the rude
the cause of the mischiefe deserued
the traytors could often excuse: he
reboldened to his wicked hart, ge-
uing him occasion to frame some
remedie in hope to come to
requite to their minde for consul-
tation what ways to be vsed for
the rebuildinge of their vnhap-
pie chaunces. In whiche consul-
tation there did rise so many
different opinions, some as fonde
they would to the Queene, and
some to the Castle of Penbroke

being her graces lieuetenaunt,
that ꝓclaymed without further
debating, intreatinge the lorde
Aburgauenny & certayne gentle-
men to remaine and entertayne
suche of these bandes as they
coulde holde tyll his retourne,
vnto whome he promised shoulde be
without delay, went to the coun-
sel for knowledge of theyr plea-
sure: where he tarried lengthe two
houres but returned in poste the
same night. And at his comyng
the lorde Aburgauenny and hys
assembled as many of theyr lyne
as they could call together.

The traitours and their fren-
des were growen as men reui-
ued from deathe to lyfe, flatte-
ring them selues that a thinge
so farre aboue meanes expecta-
tion coulde not haue happened

so

so them so fortunatiye, but by Gods miraculous pzouision, as fauouring greatly theire cause: & so blewe it abzode as well by winde as by wziting, the moze part of the people beinge readie to beleue it, as the ease in the heades of the multitude was wonderfullye chaunged bothe for strength and opinion.

Wyat aduertised by his letter the duke of Suffolke of his bis forie by Gods pzouision (as he termed it.) Whose letter was intercepted in Esser, as the messenger passed the ferie, by a seruaunt of syr Robert Southwels, and bzought to the counsell. He wzote also to the duke of Norff. but in another style, his letters being open & impozting suche matter as foloweth.

wyates aduertisement to the duke of Suffolke

F.ii. Be it

wyates letter to the Duke of Norffolke.

Be it knowen to all men, and ſpecially to the duke of Norffolke that I haue taking nothing in hand but that I will maintaine with the expenſe of my life: which before it depart out of my bodie, ſhalbe ſolde full dere. &c.

An inuectiue againſt Gardiner.

Much of thoſe parties as hong in the wind, as neutrers, wherof were no ſmall number that ſtill lurked in cornes al the tempeſt, watching but whyet ſhold become the victorie: that for example of the earll were nothing inferiour to the arrantest traytoures, but either for a number of ſuſpectes muche worſe, began to appeare verie cheriefull, geuing them ſelues great thanks for handling the matter ſo finely, that comeyng the ſelues out of the way by their policie, could

could auoide charge and peril so
wittely. And as they met with
suche as had serued faithfully
(with whō thei durst be frāke)
thei spared not to ope their mou
thes lacerly, powring out suche
language as coulde be but la-
mentable, or rather double to e-
uerie true eare, to vnderstande
any subiecte so farre peruerted
from hys allegiaūce and dutie,
that for gayne or securitie of
their owne persones, would re-
ioyce in sittinge styll as indiffe-
rent, where the crowne is a par-
tie: or to persuade securitie to
them selues be they neuer in so
stronge a holde, where their so-
uerayne is in perill. Whiche (all
thinges rightly weyed) semed a
straūge persuasion, to accompt
either gayne or saufuge in spa-

ying some parte of the accidentes by letting still, to aduenture the losse of the principall, wherupon life & the wholle depẽdeth: or by affectinge a litle corruption inordinatly, to lose bothe honest fame and good opinion of his countree, whiche euery honest man ought to seke to preserue as tenderly as the wel doinge of him self and his whole posteritie. Thus maye we euidentlye se the diuers effectes of diuers inclinations accordynge to trueth & vntrueth of perfite obedience preuailing in mennes heartes. These neuters or contemptes that woulde be neither open foes, nor aduenturous frendes, but as wyly vultures houeringe in the winde, to catch & gripe some parte of the pray, although

thoughe they would no parte of the fame perſwaded them ſelues to ſaue that whiche in their opinion the true hearte ye ſubiectes ſhould loſe by geuinge ſuche aduenture: that was ſecuritie of bodie & goodes. Whiche graunt they ſaued, yet in the iuſt iudgemente of the honeſt they deſerued thereby the ſame blotte of infamie that is due to the open enemies. On the other ſide the true and faithful, whoſe hartes and handes ſuche diuine colour of vnthankefull policie coulde not withholde frō the vttermoſte of theyr dutifull ſeruice in ſuch generall caſe of daunger, thought it rather a gaine to aduenture bodye and goodes, whereby either to preſerue the reſte and the wholle, which was cruelly pur-

stied, or at least by defense of the same to purchase vnto them (with the names the honest opinion of vnspotted members, and the immortalitie of good fame, wherwith truelye alwaies rewardeth vnfained seruice. For such an incomparable vertue is faithfull loyaltie, so muche abhorryng all corruptible allurementes, that whole hartes thee hathe in gouernaunce, with suche neither fauour of gayne, nor hope of securitie, neyther persuasion of freendshippe, ne other inticements can so muche prevaile, as for any respect they will digresse from the right course of true seruice. Where the contrarie wanting thes perfection, to fulfil the gaine of fortunes corruptible members, whersoeuer they gape

to

to obtayne quiet to the reſtytue
tyonale and lucre to theyr ſel-
ues, the thinge they onlye ſeke,
are eaſilye drawen to ſturre a
cleane contrarie race.

This naughtie broode there-
fore of counterfetes, of al other
not tollerable in a common
weale, are ſpeciallye to be loked
to in theire beginnynge, leaſte
their euill example by long ſuf-
ferance growe to ſuche a pre-
ſident at the laſte, that the com-
mon ſaynge, Good to ſlepe in a
whole ſkinne, beinge eſpied to
eſcape without daunger by re-
prehenſion, bee taken vp for a
politye, and thereby out-
wepe the iuſte peize of bounden
dueiye.

A conſulta-
tion of the
rebels after
the reuolte
by the whyte
coates.

After this moſte vnhappye
chaunce, the traytours with

theis nebie adiunctes, fell to a
greet and solemne counsell that
same nyghte at Rochester, for
their proceedinge in theyr pre-
tensed treason. In discourse
whereof proceded suche vnfit-
tinge talke as well towardes
the Queenes highnes, as her
honorable counsell, tendinge to
the alteration of the whol state,
as abhorred the eares of some
of the selfe traytours, that vn-
derstandinge by that talke the
ende of their purpose, whereof
before they were ignorante,
washed theim selues vnder the
earthe, for beynge soo vnhap-
pye as to be so much as acquain
ted with so damnable an enter-
prise. Such an opinio had they,
as they deemed very fewe coun-
sellers or officers of authoritie

or

ge of nobility within the realme
wythin the place wherevnto
they were called. And per-
ynge greate they se to be amen
ged them selues for the sup-
plynge of that wants, suche a-
uerturnynge had they of them
selues, and made so sure a re-
kenynge of the victorie, as they
disposed the honourable offices
of the realme among the selues.
Wyat thought him selfe now so
sure of the victory, as seing him
that offered to sell his spones
and all the plate he had, rather
then his purpose should quaile,
and supped his potage with bys
mouth, warranted him that he
shoulde eate bys potage with
siluer as he did. England when
good counsell shoulde stande if
in moste ausylable stede, nedeth
no

no better counseloures then such as they were, if they had vsed the wittes they thought them selues to haue, coupled with greate and honeste. But what they ment in dede, theire actes declare playnly to theire owne confusion, as it hath alwayes ben ouer theire matches shall so as manye as be of like disposition. One of them that had some witte in dede, although he wanted grace, perceyuing by theire talke in what rode fremde they were entred, to interrupte them therein, he sayde, that suche matters were good to be treated of at suche conuenient opportunitie. But for the present, it were meete to diuide vpon theire seuerall lodginge, and whether it shoulde be good policie in them minding to march

so

tenaunces London, to leaue the
Lorde Abergauenye and the
reste at libertie, that annoyed
their frendes, & by al likelyhode
woulde not so reste, as they
might haue done at their bache be-
inge left at large. One of them
amonge other him selfe to an-
swere, thought nothyng more
conuenient then their sequestra-
tion. And if this assaute myghte
haue ben thoroughly begonne,
(as thinke should haue ben) be-
fore they might haue been war-
ned. But the captaines to the
whyttes, were counselours for
such an enterpryse, hauinge the
spoyle of London in their eyes,
wolde not dispute what was
paste: but for the present they
persuaded cleane contrarye to

A deuise to apprehende the shirreffe.

the

the former opinion: saying that their goinge aboute the appre-hension of the shireffe shoulde be but a losse of time. For London sayde they, longed soore for their commynge, whiche they coulde by no meane pro-tracte without bredinge great perill and weirdnes to them selues. And hauing London at their commaundement, wherof they wer in no maner of doubt, yf it were not losse by they? slouth, their reuenge to the lord Abergauenny, the shireffe, with other their enemies wold easly? folow. Wyat fauoring full well their disposition, & vnderstan-ding their meaning by their ar-gumentes, & knowing also that without his assentinge there-vnto, he coulde not longe haue

The misre-kenig of the rebels vpon London.

they?

their companye, yelded to their counsell. And so beyng out of measure exalted into hault courage and pryde by the reuolt of the white coates, he marched the daye after beyng Twesday in great pompe and glory, carrying with him vi. pieces of ordinaunce (whiche they had gotten of the quenes) besides their owne, to Cowling castle, a holde of the Lorde Cobhams, foure myles distaunt from Rochester, and not much out of their way towards Lodon, where the lord Cobham was. Wyat at his comming to Cowling castle, bent his ordinaunce against the gate, & with great and sundry shottes & fyre brake and burned hym a waye throughe the gate. The Lorde Cobham defended his castle as stoutly

The assault of Cowling castell.

stoutly as any man might do, hauing so fewe against so great a number and so litle munition, him selfe discharging his gunne at suche as approched the gate right hardely. And in that assault two of his owne men were slaine. After this assault & talk with the lorde Cobham, Wyat marched to Graueseude where he reposed that night.

Wyates marching to Dartford.

From Graueseude he & his bande marched the wednesday next after to Dartford, where he reposed that night: whether came sir Edwarde Hastinges maister of the Queenes house, and sir Thomas Cornewalles knightes, both of her graces honorable priuie counsell, sent frō the quene to Wyat, to vnderstād the cause of his commotion, and

The rebuking of the maister of the horse sent by Thomas Cornewalles to Wyat.

also

alfo (as it was fayde) finding any repentant fubmiſſiō in him to graunte pardon, or at the leſt great hope thereof. Wyat vnderſtāding their cōming, & taking with him certen of his band, went to the eaſt ende of the towne where he had planted his ordinaunce, & as they fought manfully againſt Thomas Copinholes ſon there beyng, Wyat hauing a partiſan in his hande, ſtoode himſelfe ſtrongly alone fuche gentlemen as were with him, & vſing but little reaſonable reaſons vnto his aduerſaries, traced nere them, to whō the maiſter of the hoſte ſpake in ſubſtaunce as folowyth. The quenes maieſtie requireth to vnderſtande the very cauſe, wherfore you haue thus gathered togeather

in armes her liege people, whiche is the part of a traitour, and yet in your proclamations and perſuaſions you call your ſelfe a true ſubiecte, which can not ſtande togeather. I am no traitor quod Wyat, & the cauſe wherfore I haue gathered the people, is to defend the realme frō ouer rūning by ſtraungers, whiche muſte folowe this marriage taking place. wherby q the queenes agentes there be no ſtrangers yet come, whome eyther for power or number ye nede to ſuſpecte. But yf this be your only quarrell, becauſe ye miſlyke the marriage: wyll ye come to communication touching that caſe, and the quene of her graciouſ goodnes is content ye ſhall be hearde. To whom Wyat ſhaped ſuche anſwer, as clerly mought declare

Wyates arrogant anſwere.

declare his malicious entent & traiterous heart to the quenes owne person and royall estate. I pelde therto quod Wyat, but for my fuertie, I wyll rather be trusted than trust. And therfore I demaunde the custodie of the tower, & her grace in the tower, the displacing of certen counsellers and placing other in theire rowmes, as to me shall seeme best. Upon this lende answere, longe and stoute cõference was betwene them. In so much that the maister of the horse said vnto hym with a stout corage. Wyat, before thou shalt haue that thy traiterous demaunde graunted, thou shalte dye and xx. M. with thee. Whyttly after the maister of the horse, with maister Cornewalleys finding hym an arrant traitour

tour, & desperatly set to all mis-
chefe, retourned to the quenes
maiestie. The comon people be-
ing with him, & calling to their
remembrance how Wyat in al ap-
parance made his wholemarter
of them, for straungers, & no wares
against the quene, & perceyuing
how vnreuerentlye he vsed him-
selfe aswell to ꝑ quenes herrold
at Rochester, as to ꝑ priuie coun-
sel at Dartford, & considering
with themselfs also ꝑ he wold suf-
fer none of the quenes proclama-
tions to be read amog them:
theire hartes began to ryse a-
gainst him. And among the rest
ses sodrie of the much murmu-
red, wishinge with the losse of
all that had, they had neuer been
acquainted with Wyat nor his
doinges: and in dede sought as

many

many wates as thei could to be rid of him. Whiche perceiued by Wyat and his mates, they deuised a deute to be sounded in his daunde, that the lord Abuegauenny & the shyrreffe did cause to be hanged as manye as they could take cõming frõ Wyates daunde. Wherewith the people standing in a great mase what to doe, were wonderfullye perplexed. The queene vnderstanding by the maister of the horse and sir Thomas Cornewalles, the arrogancie of Wyat, and notwithstanding that she perceyued her merciful inclination rather to prouoke him then otherwise, yet semed she nothing willinge euen then by violence and force (as she easily moughte) to suppresse him. But yet a lon-

A craftie policie.

ger time to suffer and abide, yt by delay and mercie, her enemy mought be wonne to reconciliation. The nobilitie which were at that time with her grace, perceiuing such surmounting mercie, rather to increase then anye wayes to abate courage & malice in the insolent and proude heart of the traytours, & further vnderstandinge that the traitours demed the contation or forbearing to proceede rather of debilitie & feare, then of mercye, and clemencye, counselled with her grace, that wyth her gracious leaue and licence, they mought set vpon hym and his band, before he should passe Blacke heath: declaring that to suffre suche an arrogant traytour, being but a meane mem-

The suit of the nobles to the queene

ber

ter to appeache thus contempt
tuously to nere her royall per
son (as it were in defiannce of
her grace & her true subiectes)
shoulde greatlye redounde to
their dishonours in the opinion
of all faythfull men throughe
out the woꝛld. The quene gaue
them all moste heartie and lo-
uinge thankes, saying that she
nothinge doubted of their true
hearties towarde her. Yet was
she lothe to make anye pꝛofe oꝛ
triall therof, in such quarell as
shoulde be with losse of bloude.
Foꝛ to repꝛesse them with vio-
lence, and subdue them by the
swoꝛde, could not haue so hap-
pie succesle, but manye of my
poꝛe subiectes (quod she) should
derelye bye it, with the losse of
their liues. Wherfoꝛe she deter-

The queues answere to the nobles.

minded to suffer as longe as she
might, and to forbeare that
practise, till there were no other
hope ne remedie. For albeit, in
the Capitall traitours there
could be but great default, yet
in the multitude, she was per-
suaded to be no malice, but on-
lye misled by their captaines,
and rather seduced by ignō-
rance then vpon any evyl pur-
pose ment to her grace. Where-
foye she desired them to be con-
tented: for she was fullye deter-
mined to continue her merciful
sufferaunce, and other her gen-
tle meanes soo longe as shee
might, and vanquish her ene-
mies without the sword, if any
sparcle of obedience, or natural
zeale remaine in their heartes.
Notwithstanding she required

them

them to prepare and retayne
theyr force in a readines, if there
fonde hearres should dyuert her
to hys extremitie.

But her highnes doubtynge
that if, vnder beinge her chaun-
ber, and a cytie holden of dere
price in her princelye hearte,
myght by Wyat and suche Re-
fens as were with him, bee in
daunger of spoyle to the bette
ryme of the same: her highnes
therefore, as a moste tender
and louinge gouernesse, went
the same daye in her royall per-
son to the guilde halle, to forsee
those perylles: where amonge
other matter proceedinge from her incomparable wysedome, her grace declared how she had sent that day, two of her priuie counsel to the traitour Wyat,

The Quenes speche in the guild halle in London.

Desirous rather to quiete this
tumulte by mercie, then by ri-
gour of the sworde to vanquish,
whose most godly heart fraught
with al mercie & clemencie, ab-
horred frō al effusion of bloude.
Her highnes also there shewed
the insolent and proud answer
returned from Wyat. Wherat
the faithful citezens wer much
offended, and in playne termes
defied him as a most ranke trai-
tour, with all his conjurates.
And touching the mariage her
highnes affirmed, that nothing
was done therin by her selfe a-
lone, but with consent and ad-
uisement of the whole counsel,
vpon deliberate consultation,
that this conjunction and se-
conde mariage shoulde greatly
aduaunce this realme (where-

vnto

Into the was furde maried) to
much honour, quiet, and game,
(for quod her grace) I am al-
readie maried to this common
weale, & the faythfull members
of the same, the spousall ringe
wherof I bere on my fynger,
which neuer shalbe worne
hereafter, shalbe leafte of. Nowe
shall I say vnto you nothinge to be
more acceptable to my part, nor
more answerable to my wyt,
then youre aduauncement in
wealthe and welfare, with the
furtherance of Gods glorye.
And to declare her tender and
princely heart towardes them,
she promised constantlye not to
depart from them, although by
her counsel she had bene much
moued to the contrarye, but
would remaine here as priest, to
aduenture

aduenture the spense of her roy-
all bloude in defense of them.
Suche matter passed from her
besides, as did so wonderfully
amaze the hearres of the hea-
rers, as it was a woyld to heare
with what shoutes they etal-
ted the honour and magnani-
mitie of Quene Mary.

This done her grace retour-
ned towardes white halle, and
passinge throwe the streates,
beinge full of people, prestinge
to beholde her grace, wherein
they hadde singular delite, and
pleasure: One amongest all
maste impudent of all others,
stepped furthe sayinge: youre
grace maye doe well to make
youre forewarde in battayll of
youre Bysshoppes and Preistes,
for they be trustie and woyll not

deceyue

A malepart artificer.

berryne you. For whyche wor-
des he was commaunded to
Newgate, who deserued to be
hanged at the next boughe for
example of all other, so impu-
dencie and arrogantie to af-
faunte his Soueraygne and
Queene, with suche seditious
and traytorous language.
The boter went that he was an
potter, but of all doubt he was
a traitour & an heretike, whose
heart was wholye in Wyates
bosome, although his bodye
was abiect. For it was not poss-
ble any faithfull subiect or true
christian to utter suche shame-
lesse spethe to his liege Ladye
and Quincelle as he dyd then.
But suche is the fruite of here-
sie, contempt of God and man,
as by dayly experience is seene.

The

wyates marching to Detford strande.

The thursdaye nexte after his hauing fyue ensignes in his bande, and not paste foure thousande men, although they were accompted of a far greater nombre, marched to Detforde strande, eight myles from Darforde, and within foure miles of London. Where, vpon such aduertisemente as he receyued by spiall of the queenes beinge in the Guilde hall, and the order of the people to her, he remayned that night and the next whole daye, doubtfe of his owne companie doubtinge by his longer tarryinge there then he did in other places, with other presumptions, that he wolde haue passed the water into Elfer. His prisoners as maister Christopher Roper, George Dozrell

Dezel of Calehil, John Tucke Esquiers, who were kepte verye streytlye beinge sickelye, and hauinge within the towne no conuenient harborowe or attendaunce, were licensed by Wyat vpon promisse of theire worshippes to be trewe prysoners, to prouyde for them selues out from the towne where they best myght. But they thinking no part of theyr worshippe stained in breakig promise with a traitoure, sought waies to escape, & came no more at hym.

The departing of master Christopher Roper and maister Dozrell frō Wyat.

On the Saterdaye folowinge verye earlye Wyat marched to Southwarke, wher approching the gate at London bridge sote, called for the openinge of the same: whiche he founde not so readie as he looked

Wyates marchinge to Southwarke.

ke for. After he had ben a lyttle
whyle in the earthworke, dy-
uerse of the soulders wente to
Winchester place, where one
of them beynge a gentleman,
began to shewe his game, be-
fore all the cardes were full
dealed: I meane to ryffle and
spoyle, whiche in dede was the
determinate ende of their pur-
pose, but the tyme was not yet
come, nor they come to the place
where they shoulde begynne it.
Wherunto soone hauyng fur-
ther respecte then the younge
gentleman hadde, shewed hym
selfe with sterne and fiery vi-
sage so muche to be offended
with his doinges, that he made
diuers beleue that he woulde
haue hanged hym vppon the
bulwarke.

Whiche

which tokened it greatter, pitches
of hatred to the ꝓud, or of pol-
lycie to purchace credite to a fur-
ther mischief, and lost the nature
and courte of rebellion, as also
wyates owne troopes may eas-
ily be to vnderstande. Who the
same daye neere afore his sturte
talking with two of his frendes
for the execution of her ꝓtended
purpose, one of the at length
said vnto him: I haue no doubt
but you shalbe able to assemble
a great force, but howe you shal
be able to continue the same
with you, hauing not sufficient
treasure and money, the onlye
thyng wherewith the multitude
is holde, I stand much in doubt.
Whereto quod Wyat? Where-
sayd the other, me thinketh a
good way for your ꝓuision
therof

thereof, after youre force is once gathered, that ye apprehend the lorde Warden, the lorde Abergauenny, sir Robert Southwel, sir Thomas Moyle, with other of whose hearties and affection towarde you and your cause you stande in doubt: wherby ye shal not onlye haue them in safetie, whiche are most like within the shire to withstande your enterprise, but also prouide you bothe treasure and money (which they wante not) for the relief of your bande. Ah quod Wyat, is this the best counsell ye can geue? If we pretende to kepe out straungers, & begin oure quarell with the spoile of our owne countremé, what will the whole realme trowe ye then deme of vs? Nay your aduice is nought, and your

thyng the nexte waye to accele-
rate oure confusion. For if we
will goo forwarde in our mat-
ter, and make the beste of it we
can purpose: spoyle, and stra-
ye may not be oure guides. We
must by all meanes deuise; and
as lyttle inoughe, to returne good
opinion in the heades of the mul-
titude of some plausible cause
to succede by our feares: other-
wise we undoe oure selues. For
pretendyng at our first that our
myndes runne of spoyle; whoo
will not rather resist vs, than abide
the aduenture of that, wherof we
beare them in hande, then to be
in certaine to be spoyled by vs?
And I see no cause whye you
shoulde doubte of want of mo-
ney; seinge ye knowe that suche
gentlemen as are confederate
with

with his keping appointment, that he fayld (ouer) shuld come redie (ouer) shed to beare theyre (ouer) charges (ouer) fo2. iij. dayes, and (ouer) hys (ouer) hope (ouer) shuld be verie harde, if (ouer) we (ouer) be not at London shortelye after (ouer) the (ouer) sterre, and that with so great a company as shalbe out of daunger to be stopped by any of the shire (ouer) vpon (ouer) suche a sodeine, or lette (ouer) of entre into London finding halfe the frendes there (ouer) we (ouer) thinke to haue. And being (ouer) ones in London, and hauing the tower in our handes, I trust you thinke we shall not lacke money longe after, yf any be to be hadde there, or in the Aldermens coffers. To that sayd the other, that had spoken as yet neuer a worde: I knowe commoners in London that haue

Wyates reckening of the spoile of the tower and London.

more

he would de haue hanged him out of hande, had not Bret and o-thers entreated for hym.

When they had lien in South-warke a day or two, and founde themselues deceiued in Lõdon, whiche by the greate diligence and politike handlinge of that woꝛthye and faithfull knighte

The Lorde William Haward Admirall of Englande.

The Lorde William Haward Admirall of England, that had the warde admirall of Englande, that had the speciall charge therof with the aduersaries. The Whight knight maiꝛ of London, his bꝛetherne and assistence was soo well pꝛouided, as the traitours thereby were disappointed of that they looked moste certenly foꝛ. Wyat all alone desperate, and setting all in feare and fauen, aduentuꝛinge the hazardinge downe of a wall out of an house ioyning to

the gate at the bridge foote,
whereby he thought to enter in
the leades ouer the gate, and
downe into the lodge aboute
midnight, when the clocke in the
steeple sounde the porter in a
slumber, and his wife with o-
ther waking, watchinge a cole.
But seing Wyat, they began so
verily to feare as greatly amas-
sed. Whist, quod Wyat, as you
loue your lyues, sit you still, you
shall haue no hurt. Gladde were
they of that warrante, pardye.
What should they do, people bet-
ter accustomed with the likende
of bores, to passe swetly the night,
then acquainted with targets
and speares to indure to fyghte
Wyat & fewe with hym there
forthe as farre as the drawe
bridge on the further side when

passe into the porters lodge at the bridge foote.

Care away

of the saide the lorde Admirall,
the lorde Wharton, sir Andrewe
Judde, and one or two other, in
consultation for ordering of the
busines, determined he gaue dili-
gent eare a good tyme and not
feerie. At length conceyued by
their talke more then he could
digest, & perceyuynge the great
ignorance there bent returned
sayinge to his mates: this place
wyll holde for vs. And when he
was come to his colleges and
declarynge vppon this exployte
what he had heard & seene,
they then all together fell to a
graue counsell what was to be
done. Some counsailed then re-
tourne to Grene wiche, and so
passe the water into Essex,
where by their company as they
thought they should encrease and

The rebels
at their wits
tes ende.

to enter

entre into Rochester by Algate. And some wouldde to Kingston vpon Temmes, and so further west. And some, of the whiche Wyat himselfe was chiefe, would retourne into Kent, to meete with the Lorde Aburgauenye, the lorde Warden, the shyreffes, sir Thomas Moyle, sir Thomas Finch, that were at Rochester comming on Wyates backe wt a great company assembled: fullfy persuadyng him selfe that he should finde among the kinges frendes them enemies. But whether his determinacion to retourne into Kent grewe vpon hope he had to finde ayde there, or whether it was to quiete him selfe withall, it was muche doubted of his owne company. And some of them that

louyng him well, excepte they were muche deceyued, repented not longe before their execution, that his desire to retire into Kent was onelye to shyfte himselfe ouer the sea.

The Lorde Wardens beinge at Rochester towardes Wyat.

The Lorde Warden beinge come to Rochester as ye heard, and beyng honourablye furnished with horse and men well appoynted to no smale number, entringe in consultation with suche gentlemen as were there, for the better prouydynge in their seruice, shewed a great desire to accelerate the onset vpon the traitours, least malice shuld impute both his former & present staye, rather to want of forwardenesse, then to good policie. Wherefore he determined to pursue after them with all expedition

peticion. Wherunto the gentle-
men then beinge in armes with
him, saied. As for your lord-
shipps contation hetherto, it
shalbee weyed, not as fooles by
fantye and malice deme, but as
wyse menne shall measure it by
theire discretion of wysedome.
Who see not but vnadvised har-
dinesse and prepposterous haste
in mooste matters haue these
twoo companions; Errour in
the beginning, and Repentance
in the ende. And for thys oure
case, whoo so vnderstandeth the
same can not but confesse youre
lordshipps deliberate forbearing
to haue proceded of great wyse-
dome, as wherin hast coulde li-
tell prevaile. And wheras your
lordshippe is so desirous to pur-
sue after myne and hys bande,
you

you see howe they haue lyen in Southwarke and within foure myles of London these foure dayes, and yet not medled with by the queenes armie beyng so nere. Which is neither for want of men, nor of forewardnesse in that noble gentleman the earle of Penbroke the queenes lieutenant, but vpon greate policie and further respect, no doubte then we seeme to conceyue. Wherfore your lordshyp maye do better to pause, and firste to aduertise the queenes maiestie and the lorde lieutenaunt both what youre lordshyppe vpon graue and deepe consideration hath conceyued in this doubtfull tyme, and also in what readinesse youre lordshyppe is and other gentlemen wyth you, whose

The earle of Penbroke the quenes lieutenaunt.

whose pleasures knowen, we
myght then happelie procede in
ferther bothe with good conten
tation to them aboue, and best
suertie for our selues. Other
wyse if fortune shoulde not fa-
uour our iourneye, ther may be
thought in vs maye impotente
wyll to haste, then prouident
policie to spede. And daunger
hereby can none folowe, our en-
mmies lyinge betwene her gra
ces armye and vs, confyde-
ynge withall, that London is
so well furnished and so willyng
to resist their entrie. Wherevp-
on the Lorde Warden went in
poste to the Quene, leauynge
the Lorde Aburgauenye and
the rest of the gentlemen with
his and theyr bande vntyll his
retourne, whiche was verye
shortlye

thoꝛtlye after. Who accoꝛdynge to hys firste purpose with the reste of the gentlemen marched furthe towardes Wyat. Whiche who had seene so well oppoynted, and with what wyllinge heartes they wente, and hadde knowen withall the fayethfull dealinge of sundꝛye gentlemen beſydes in other partes of the ſhire, oughte to ſaye, that notwithſtandinge there were manye euyll, yet were there manye woꝛthie gentlemen and honeſt fayethfull yeomen in Kent free from Wyates conſpiracie: & that the ſame receiued ſome iniurie at his hande, that takinge vpon him to ſet furthe anye Cronicle, ſhoulde name onelye foure gentlemen of thys ſhyꝛe to bee woꝛkers againſt Wyat. Foꝛ al-

thoughe

thoughe euery man pursued him
not in the beginninge, manye of
them dwelling farre from him:
yet there they as well occupied
where they were, and as muche
towardes Wyates confusion, by
stayinge and withholding great
lopes throughe their ernest per-
suasions and labour, that elles
woulde haue been with Wyate:

Nowe to retourne to Wyat,
whom in this meane tyme yet
a thother captaines espyinge to
haue a desire to be gone, dissem-
blynge the knowledge thereof,
wrought all the secrete meanes
they coulde deuise, to staye hys
going, as hauing the weight of
their lyues depending vpō thys
enterpryse as well as he. One
of them by agremente in their
consultacion sayde to him, You
see

seue (quod he) with what difficul
tie you kepe your souldiers here
vnto this houre, doing that be a token
where they are in a maner ap
pointed, & thereby the more in
clyned to get away, being so na
turally inclined to. And now yf you
shall leaue the town & retire in
to Kent, as some of your cõpany
suspect you will, whereby both
they and al other shal nudge you
to be in despayre of the aide of
London (the hope whereof hath
been hitherto ye greatest occasi
on of stay of suche as be already
here, & the comfort for the com
ming of other to the increase of
your power) you maye assure
your selfe, that such as be here
will not tarye longe after with
you, finding time to escape, as
they shall easily inough being at

large

lenge, nor such as be absent until
time shall to repaye into you;
when thexperyall perceyue you to
be in subiection of London and so
shall you remember youre selfe to
the contempt of youre enemyes,
and displeasure of youre frendes.
Yet neuthe rolour of singular
affection to wyll at denelynge
maister stratford to auoyde sus-
picion, whiche wolde not a-
mong them, requyred to speake
with him apart, and hauynge
him alone, sayde: It shall not be
amysse that for your owne sure-
tie you haue in remembrance
the effecte of the seuerall pro-
clamations made at Hartford,
the one by maister William Roper
wherin you were beknowen,
the other by maister Appulton
whiche as I here, was also

Bisshop
wordes to
Wyat.

made at London and in other partes of the realme, wherein is promysed the inheritaunce of an hundred pounde lande to suche as cane apprehende and present you to the queene.

Now what fantasies may growe in the heades of your owne fellowes for the sauegarde of theselues, of whome you haue had alreadie some experience, it is to be doubted. Or whatmai growe in the heades of youre souldiours, when saylyng of the ayde of London they shall be in dispair of your enterprise, it is also to be doubted. On the other parte, when suche of Kent on whō it semeth you repose some truste, shall here of your retire, their disposition perhaps wyll be muche chaunged. And therfore

seyn it standeth you in hande to
looke to the matter substaun-
tially.

Wyat hauing the same confi-
dence in Bret, that Bret wolde
Wyat to haue had in other, re-
membring his moste deceitfull
treason to the queene, contrary
to the truste reposed in him for
the conducte of the whitcotes,
and seling his greife doubled,
and his deffes to cõuey himselfe
awaye so muche the more in-
creased by Bzettes secret talke
with him (as the stroken deare)
wandereth aside, all alone com-
playning with him self his most
vnhappie fate. And soone after
callynge Thomas Illeye vnto
him, sayde: Ah cosyn Illeye in
what extreme miserye are we?
The reuolte of these captaines

Traitors traytours.

with ſ whytgyfte ſ ſemed a bene-
fite in ſ beginning, was a thyng
ſét by God for our good, and ſo
ſhall we for ward in our ſter-
pyſe, whyche I no we ſele to our
confuſion. Why coſin, this it is to
enter ſuche a quarrel, whych not
withſtanding we no we ſe muſt
ſtun acco thful and yet of neceſ-
ſitie we muſt proſecute ſ ſame.
Whyat as deſperate finding
other to accorde with Wyattes
opinion vpō his confeēce with
them by whom for direction of
his traytorous iourney he was
chefely abuſed (although for
his ſhyfting a waye there were
other whom he better truſted)
marched the ſelue ſame daye beyng
Wednesday out of ſouth-
warke to Kyngſton vpon Tha-
mes, two myles diſtaunt, where
they

Wyates
marchinge
to kingſton.

repaires
passage at
kingston.

bout .vi. of the clocke in the same
night. What with his hast without either resistence or perill mar-
ched ouer the bridge towardes
London, hauing such a louping
heart in his body to ꝑ quene, as
before that he met to haue ben at
the court gate. Which herould
neuer haue attempted hauing any
sparcle of that good zeale in his
brest to the queues suretie as to
further his treaso, he outwardly
pretended to the world, cõsid-
ring the danger ꝑ might haue
growen by ꝑ feare thereof to her
grace. But as god would partly
by sweetnes of his fauourers, a
partie by breache of the whe-
ther that cause did hit ꝑtinaunce,
it was time of the clocke of the
day following, beyng Whitsun-
nesday before he came so far as

Hyde

ryde parke. Where his courage
(beyng to fore as ye haue heard
not very lusty) began now better
ye to die, beholding as it were
before his face the present bane &
confusion, wher vnto his malic-
ious entent was shaped. Yet be
ynge at his leude guyde,
he marcheth forward & cometh
within the power of sir Wyllia
Herbert earle of Penbroke be-
ing that day the queenes lieue-
tenant general in ye fielde. Who
yet with diuers other noble me
and faithfull subiectes (beyng
then in armes with hym) prest
and readie to receyue so impu-
dent a taste of frantyck rebe-
lion to their deserued vtterau-
fall) vnderstandyng partlye by
sure spial, partly by their aduau
ture, that the rebels ere

wyth the number of foure thou-
sande, and most of them naked,
boyes of all polisie and skill, con-
sidering withal, that they could
not fet vpō Wyat a hys whole
hand but great effusiō of bloud
shoulde folowe, the queenes ar-
myes being so greate to be reuen-
ged, & the other so impotent to
resiſt, he determined rather by pol-
lecie to atcheue the victorie, then
by bloudie chaūce to confounde
the rebels. Wherin they should
plese God, and forese the quee-
nes [illegible] and
perils of her owne, and
reasons and honour of that
degree ferueth, vpon these reso-
lutions they permitted Wyat
with the fore parte of his bande
to passe quietly alonge, and
throughe betweene the quee-

nes

[illegible] bapsmen, the lord
[illegible] being marshall of the
[illegible] and capitaine of the bat-
[illegible] bapsmen and dimilancers on
the south side, Earle of Mun-
gomry beinge capitayne of the
light bapsmen on the North-
west. The great ordinaunce be-
inge charged to shote full upon
the heads of the rebels comming
ouermuche. The earle of Pen-
broke with the maine battell of
footemen all wel for handgunnes
morishepikes, bowes and bylls,
standyng in goodly araye on the
fleetbes side, behinde the said
great ordinaunces, ready to set
upon the rebels in the face com-
ming towardes Southwarke. Wy-
at comming in the forefront of
his bande perceiuinge that he
was thus beset with bapsmen

on bothe sides, the great ordi-
naces and the fourmen before
his face Northewardwarde, so that
he coulde no wayes escape, but
necessarilye muste fal into their
handes, although for policie
he was suffered, and a greate
part of his men to passe so farre
quietly and without resistance
through the horsmen, he sodenly
for sooke hys waye entended
therowe Holborne, & with
might & maine as faste as they
coulde, he and his mates ranne
downe underneth ye parke wal
of bricke, adioyninge to the
Queenes manour house called
saint James. The lorde Clin-
ton obseruinge his tyme, fyrste
with hys dimylaunces brake
their arraye, & deuided Wyates
bande in .ij. parties. Then came

the

the kynges horsmen, who so harde
[illegible] the rase of his hande
that they slewe manye, hurte
many and toke most of them.
Whilest the kyngs horsmen were
thus in fighte with the rasel of
his hande, Wyat him selfe and
his men of there about peked
on still all alonge vnder saint
James parke wall, vntyll he
came to charinge crosse, where
diuers of the quenes houshold
seruauntes and others fought
with them, and in the ende ful-
lye put of the rebelles. Neuer-
theles Wyat hauinge escaped
with a part of his cõpany mer-
chaunge alonge in battaile raye
entred into Fletstrete, & came
ouer Fletebridge toward Ludge
gate. And although no man re-
sisted his passage throughe the

Sturdes fight farre, yet doubted at
length he perceiued that he had
no helpe of frendes at London,
and the tumultes was ouer he lokid
for, he sawe his men standing styll
in battell aray, and rode backe
an hard by the Temple barre gate,
with a naked sworde in his hande
the hilte vpwarde (as some re-
porte) at whiche gate he would
haue gone throughe to wardes
Charinge crosse to the reskuing
of the Quene, but he was then stop-
ped by foure of the Quenes trus
sebetes, who wolde not suffer
him to passe without leaue. At
the length came one sir Ro-
gere Barkley knight vnto him,
& requyred him to consider that
he could not preuaile in this
wicked purpose, and that his
men were all taken and slayne
in

the

thē sayde Wyat, and certein of
his men (as afore sayde) were
comming thus towardes Fleet
strete, a certein Captaine of the
saied rebels with diuers of hys
souldiours returned from Tem
ple croſſe, downe to the court
gate at whytehalle, and gaue
a larume before the gate, and
shotte diuers arrowes into the
sayde courte, the gate beyng o-
pen, in so muche that one mai-
ster Nicolas Rockewood beyng
a gentlemā of Lyncolnes inne,
and in armour at the saīd court
gate, was shotte through hys
nose with an arrowe by the re-
bels. For the comminge of the
saide rebels was not loked for
that way: but thought that the
Queenes Armye shoulde haue
begun battell with them in the

felde

fell according to promise made by the sayd Wyat on his behalf, who promised that he would come to the queues forebattel, & fight with the pyke against pyke and mā to man. Which when it came to the verie point, he refused & shanke a bye way by saint Iames parke walle, for his refuge, as you haue heard before, where many of them were slain by horsemen, so that they came not nie the queues power of the forebattel. Which increased some desperate boldnes in the despairing rebelles, not without great discōfeture to all the court, & the citie of London, perceiuing that he was himselfe and so many rebels with him come through the queues armye thus farre. Wherupō grewe great admiration a-

mongest

mygest the that kneled not their
hedges in the fielde, how for po
liecy coude to auoide muche man-
slaughter. Wyat was suffered
purposely to passe along. In so
muche diuers timerous & colde
hearted soulditours came to the
Quene crying, all is lost, away a-
way, a barge, a barge: yet her grace
neuer chaunged hes chere, nor
would be remoue one foote out of
the house, but assured for the lord
of Pembroke, in whom her grace
had singularly reposed great con-
fidence. Soldiers beinge made
ware he was in the fielde: wyll
them quod her grace, fal to pyll-
er, & I warrat you we shal heare
better newes anone: for my lord
wyll not deceaue me, I knowe
well: yf he would, GOD wyll
not, in whom my chefe trust is,

who

gouernor had speciall regarde. The gates were diligently watched euery gate with .C. men. Aldgate being closed vp and rampiered. Thus was this wylie treason, and agen traytrous pryde and her complices brought to their confusion, and to the ende, which neuer missed all suche malicious disposed persones at last by the ouerthrowe and ruine of him that was armed in the fielde, the mightie Lorde of Sothesa: but chiefly by the mightie hand of God at the contemplation of her highe merites, and vertues, who remaining in the closet of stedfast hope, confidence, beinge appointed with the armor of faith, fought with feruent and continuall prayer, in perfecte deuotion, vnder the

banner

Ensigne and ensigne of Gabriells
[illegible] alone geue thys battayle
[illegible] alone with out pollicie
[illegible] of man ouerthrowe hys
[illegible] yet so that he thereby
[illegible] his eternal fauor & plea-
[illegible] towardes his seruaunt
[illegible] haughte the Earle of Rich-
[illegible] in appointing hym chiefe
[illegible] thys dayes to defende
[illegible] chosen and elected kyng,
[illegible] fayeth hathe not been wa-
[illegible] in his catholike religion,
[illegible] truth & seruice doughte-
[illegible] at anye time towardes hys
[illegible] Wyat, as is said, was co-
[illegible] to the Tower. So were
[illegible] other gentlemen, as soone
[illegible] was Henrye Graye Duke
[illegible] & hys .ii. brethern:
[illegible] beinge so hardlye pur-
[illegible] by the lord Hastinges earle

The duke of Bukkes apprehension by the earle of Hūtingdon.

Hūtingdon was by him apprehended in Leycester shire: whereby he declared him selfe as well in honour and vnspotted loyaltie, as in parentage, & patrimonie to succede hys great grandfather y lord Hastinges: whose fidelite and stedfast trueth towardes kinge Edwarde the fourthe, and hys chyldren, the Cronicles reporte, to hys immortall honoure.

Of the common people there were suche a numbre taken in the chase by the Earle of Pembroke, that besides the vsuall gaoles sundrie churches in London were made places for their saufegarde, tyl order was taken for their enlargement.

The duke was arrayned by his Peires, and by verdit found

giltie

pitie of treason before the duke of Suff. beinge lorde Constable, and foure daye bys Iudges, Cawdie and bys brother Thomas, at seuerall dayes made this ende at Tower hyll by lose of their heades. Sundrie other of Wyates complices beinge arreigned and condemned vpon their confession of treason, suffered in diuers partes of the Cytie, as Wyates Leiftenaunte, Thomas Cawdie bys brother, and Master Cheuell at Shoreditch, where Wyat first displaied his standerde. Antony Knyuett, Scotlande bys bro-ther, with another of the Kyngs men at Temmocke. But all the chiefest hanginge in chaynes.

And of the common sorte diuers were executed, some vnder

Wyat ar
reigned.

of the white cotes that (to say
truth) deserued it treble. Wyat
himselfe last of all was arreined
at Westminster (the Earle of
Sussex, sir Edward Hastynges,
& sir Thomas Cornewalles be-
ing his Iudges). Where and be-
fore whome he moste earnestlye
craued ayde, not by ples of his
matter, or iustifying of him self,
but by earneste suite in humble
submission for the queenes mer-
cye. It semeth not amisse here
to make rehearse of suche speci-
al wordes as by him were vttred
at his arreinemente, whiche I
my selfe heard standinge not
farre of from him at that time.
For like vehicion wordes maye
appeare both what he him selfe
thought of his doynges, howe
much he mistrusted the same, and

Wyates
wordes at
his arraign
ment.

also

gladly prepared. For the loue of God all you gentlemen that be here present remembre, and be here taught by the examples paste, and also by this my present infelicitie and hainous offense. O moste miserable, miserable, bestiall, and deadlye furious imagination of myne. For I thought that by the mariage of the Infanta of Spayne, this realme should haue been in daunger. And I that haue lined a free borne man should now, my countreye be brought to bondage and seruitude by aliens and straungers. Myne owne bestiall wyttes then seemed perfect, and apoynted so many meanes to atchiue, as it seemed vnpossible practise and vse of them could preuent, that nowe

Of such as did penaſice by wearing of halters before the queene.

[illegible] linge all with halters about [illegible]

power

power, ne by anye other policie prouayle. Fyue of the gentlemen that were offenders were pardoned goinge to their execution by the queenes clemencie at Rochester, as were also all the other of the whole Kentishe gentlemen remitted, a fewe of the rankest excepted, that onelye for example suffered.

The Queenes hyghnes not longe after sent oute her commission to sir Thomas Moyle, sir Johan Guldsorth, sir Thomas Kempe, Warram Sentleger, Thomas Roydon, Chrystopher Roper, George Dorrell of Calehil, George Faine, John Tucke, John Robartes, Thomas Lowlace, Johan Leonarde Esquiers, with others, not onelye to bayle and sette at

large

lenge ſuche as were in priſon in
the countree for that offenſe,
beinge of no ſmale numbre, but
able to compounde by their diſ-
cretion with the offenders ac-
cordinge to the qualitie of their
offenſes. Which maner of order
being not hard of in ſ like caſe,
or at the leaſt verye rarelye, de-
clared a ſingular clemencie and
benignitie in the queene, that
being ſolowed ſo cruelly, would
yet be ſo moued with pitie as
to vouchſafe to aunſwere them
with ſuche lenitie, in the execu-
tinge of ſo fewe in compariſon
to ſo greate a numbre & ſo large
a cauſe, beeing all in her graces
mercy to diſpoſe at her pleſure,
& beſide ſuffre the reſt to eſcape
with ſo ſmale abaſhement of
their countenaunce after ſo hai-

nous

nous offense. He that shall peruse this storye Diligentlye, and consider al partes therof exactlye with remembraunce of thinges past, sithence the beginning of the Queenes mooste happye raygne, must of force recognise of what condition so euer he be, the magnificence, mercie, and fortitude of thys mooste noble princesse, as from time to time with such pacience to indure so greate malice of her owne subiectes, with suche lenitie to forbeare the reuenge of so intollerable outrage, with suche mercie in the ende to pardon and remit so haynous and great offendours. Happie was it with those haynous offendours, that her graces most worthie and honourable counsell were so agre-

able

[illegible] her vertuous inclinacion
[illegible] rather to pardone
mercifull pardon for continu-
aunce of life, then to prosecute
reuenge by execution of death.
It is to be wished by all good
men with one assent, that pro-
uoked with so greate clemencie
these degenerates reforme the
selues, and forbeare thus to at-
tempte so gracious a princesse,
vnto whom by gods authoritie
the swoorde is not vainely com
mitted, leste thereby they pro-
cure to them selues dānation in
sekinge by suche outrage their
owne deathe and confusion.
From the desire whereof we see
by a numbre of euidente argu-
mentes, the Queenes highnes
and her honourable counsell to
be soo farre as (by all meanes
they

they can imagine they seeke to
bring vs, that they by most
spightfull and malicious
meanes folowe to
their subuersion.

Their earneſt conference with the degenerates and ſedi-tions, for the ſtroke of the cauſe of their greate diſcouer.

HEre I purpoſe to ſhut vp this tragicall treatiſe touchinge the diſplayinge of Wyat and his aduenture, and yet not to ende my trauell concerning the ſame, but ſhall gladlye debate and conferre with thee louyng countreman ſuche ſpeciall and neceſſarye matter, as further riſeth therof, tending as well to our mutuall comfort preſently, as alſo to a generall doctrine to indure to oure poſteritie, not without preſente terror to the wicked race: whoſe hertes bydis

in deſire to rebel. All which poin-
tes this preſent ſtorie doth plé-
teouſlie perſorme to him that
liſteth to learne. And herby firſte
the good & godly may be cõfor-
ted, as by this experimente, to
conſider how God alwaies de-
fendeth his chosen and electe
veſſell, our moſt gracious and
merciſull princeſſe, againſt the
malicious and cruell aſſaultes
of her enemies, be they neuer
ſo craftie, neuer ſoo ſtronge.
And ſecondlie a generall doc-
trine therewith taughte, or ra-
ther by newe experience renued,
ſo many times taughte before,
that the ineuitable end of rebel-
lion is certeine confuſion to the
rebell. Of theſe two y third ne-
ceſſarely ſpringeth, as a terrible
prohibition in the heartes of the
wicked

lacked neuer after to attempte
the lyke villanie againste Gods
anointed, wherevf they can at
no tyme stamble other part the
final confusion, lynked to per-
petuall infamie. And to make
perfite impression herof in your
hartes, you degenerates, thus
can not fortifie your selfes with
so pernicious a pryncesse, but thus
from tyme to tyme molest her
highnes with seditious rumors
uproares, and rebellion, I here
appeale to you chiefly, & require
you to enter into the secret clo-
set of your owne hearte, and to
ponder with me in egall ba-
launce of due consideration the
incomparable vertue, mercie,
and benignitie of this most wor-
thy pryncesse oure queene, with
your owne mischiefe, cruelties,

and intollerable malice. And then let truth giue sentẽce, whether this disorder groweth of a lack in ye head, or of a malicious corruptiõ in the mẽbres. Can ye imagine any thinge to be required of God, to be in a princelye Magistrate, either for the aduancemẽt of his publike weale, whereof he is accompted the liuing soule, or for the contentation or commoditie of the polytike body his people, wherof he is reputed the principall heade, which is not plenteouslie foũde in this our moost gracious maistres? Can you wish her to haue any thynge touchyng vertue, or vertuous ornamẽt worthy her royall person, whiche she alredy hathe not? Whose honourable name for the singular vertues,

and

and rare qualities, naturallye
grafte in her moſt royall perſon
euen from the cradell, as well
the ample theater of the whole
worlde hathe in admiration, as
alſo malice, and emule it ſelfe in
ſuch veneration as neuer durſt
raiſe any ſiniſter, or cõtrary re-
port of her vertuous life to this
day. Is there any thing on the
other ſyde that ye can wiſſhe to
haue for your owne cõmoditie &
by her you enioy not? Hath ther
ben at any time, any price in the
order of his publike regimente
more carefull for the aduance-
ment of his ſubiectes to welth,
or for the preſeruation of them
in trãquillitie and ſuertie, then
her grace is? Can you doubte of
this, that haue had experience
& triall therof, ſo many yeres?

Haue you not seene euen in the
verie beginning of her most hap
pie raigne, all suche bloudie and
liqueous lawes, by her royall
assent repealed, and the rigoure
of those taken awaye, as haue
or hereafter mighte decaye, and
weaken the noble and faithfull
subiectes of her realme: Could
you require greater proufe of
incomparable clemencie, fauor,
& loue towardes her people in
generall, the this? Haue you not
seene her for repaire of many no
ble houses by her graces liberal
restitution, or rather giftes of
Stately Castelles, honours, Ma
nours, and Lordshippes, which
by her lawes without offense
of iustice her highnes mought
haue retained, ye same being in
uested in her graces noble pro-
genitours,

[illegible]ours by the due ozder of
[illegible] lawes? Can you require any
greater token of pzincelye pitie
then this? Haue you not seene her
highnes not onely forbozne all
demaundes of Subsidies oz
tares, but also freelye dispense
with great paimentes of money
due to her by formet graunt to
her pzedecessours, not withstan
ding the large and diuers occa-
sions her highnes hadde to re-
quire aide, as well for the great
debt she founde this realme in,
as for large expenses she hathe
sustained in resisting the rebel-
lion of her owne people? Could
you haue a greater euidence of
loue towardes her subiectes the
this? Haue you not seene & daily
may see diuers eskape by pardō
mercifullye remitted, and suste-

red to lyue in theyr accustomed
wealth and pleasures that de-
serued once twise to dye, as o-
pen ennemies and traitours?
Could ye desire greater mercie
& lenitie in her grace, then this?
Haue ye forgot howe her grace
at the beginninge of her happie
raigne did, and styll dayly doth
call vppon all and singular her
magistrates hauinge any iudi-
ciall authoritie to se the lawes
so egally distributed thorough
out her realme & dominions, wi-
out respecte to the persons, that
none moughte haue iuste cause
to complaine of wrongful vexa-
tion, or oppression? Could ye de-
sire playner demonstration of
her highnes equitie & iustice the
this? What haue you then to al-
lege for your excuse that prac-
tise,

ſe ſuche malice & ſpite againſt
ſo gracious, ſo mercifull, ſo li-
beral, ſo milde, and ſo louing a
princeſſe? What ſhoulde moue
you thus vnkindlie & vnnatu-
rally to rayſe rebellion againſt
her grace, to the moleſtation of
her royall perſonne, and per-
turbation of the whole realme,
and finally to youre owne con-
fuſion? What fault fynde you in
her, whome the whole worlde
iudgeth to be moſte perfyte and
ſounde? Can you not loue her,
whome the whole worlde hath
in admiration for her vertues?
Can you not forbeare forcyblie
and traiterouſlie to moleſt her
whome euery good and godlye
man findeth him ſelfe bound in
conſcience with expenſe of bo-
die and goodes to defende?

What reseeme you her grace to be? Is she not youre lawefull queene, whome Gods expresse cõmaundement bindeth you to honour and obeie for conscience sake? Hath she not in her hãdes full authoritie to commaunde, and power to compelle? What reseeme you youre selfes to be? Are ye not subiectes by the like commaundement of God boũde to serue, loue, and obeye?

Finally, is not her grace such a one, in whome God by sundry tokens and dayly experimentes declareth himselfe to delite and to be well pleased, thus continuallie protectinge and defendinge her wyth the ouerthrowe and shame of her enemies. Alas contrey men, what wicked spirite possesseth your entrayles,

hed, that can not be satisfied with suche a gouernesse, wor-thie all duetie and reuerence: What euil ghost hath plunged your hearetes in suche straunge malice, that notwithstandinge so manye and greate benefites employed by her and receaued by you, you can fynde in youre heartes to assaulte her with re-bellion, or in any wise suffer any one euyll motion to enter into your thoughtes against her? yf you can not denye but she dayly and hourely careth for you and yours, as a most carefull pryn-cesse, why then shoulde you not answere her pryncely zeale with loue and duetie, as it becom-meth trew subiectes: God say-eth, you shall not resiste youre prince, yf you doe, you resist me

(sayeth

(sayeth he) with present peryll to your soules. My law saieth, you can not rebell against your soueraigne, but my lawes muste condemne you for traytours. Experience proueth bitter confusiō & perpetual infamie to be the fatall & ineuitable end of rebelliō. What aduantage the ars you in hope any waye to fynde by rebellion, when thereby you haue heaped the coles of vengeaunce vpō your heades at Gods hand, you haue receaued mans iudgement to youre perpetuall shame and reproche, and in the ende you are assured by infallible experience, confusion to be youre guerdon? May not you of all other thinke youre selues most infortunate to enuie this noble Queene for her vertue,

whose

whose fame reacheth so farre:
Or are ye soo fonde to thynke
that you can obscure the same
by rebellion, whiche is illustra-
ted and set furth by youre mali-
cious attemptes, no otherwise
then golde is tried by fyer:
Sith the whole worlde muste of
necessitie wondere at you for
your intollerable euyll and rest-
les malice, and extoll her grace,
for her incomparable pacience
and endles mercie. What, can
you not like her noble mariage?
Is it misliking therof, the cause
of this youre degenerate mis-
dedes? Mighty God, do you chs
lenge such singular knowledge
in Gods worde, suche speciall
influence of the holy spirite, de-
nying all other in respecte of
you & youre colleges, to be blin-
ded,

ded, holde of al truethe: and thus
directly against knowledge, a-
gainst Gods expresse truethe a-
gainst ꝯ suggestion of the good
spirite rebellioully stryue against
your naturall princesse, staining ꝯ
your quarrel, which you your sel
ues knowe to be against God ꝯ
nature, as to dyuell your sou-
raigne in ꝯ franke choise of ma
riage, the fredō wherof was ne
uer denied to ꝯ meanest subiect
in the world. Alas coūtrey mē,
hath blinde malice soo bleared,
the eyes of your commō senses
that you see not how manifest-
ly you bewraye alwel the dyu-
tifulnes of your heartes, as also
the hoped fruite of your religiō.
In hope of your reconciliation,
I coulde finde in my hearte to
debate further with you of this
weyghty

weightie matter. But as you be iustlie condemned of arrogan
cie in takinge a quarrell in the
person of the realme, for that
subiecte the wisdome of the same
by cõmon consente, for the ma-
nifolde commodities growen
thereby hath allowed for a bene-
fite, so shoulde not I auoide the
note of much folie, if I woulde
take in hande to defende by ar-
gumentes (as a doubtfull mat-
ter) that soo manye wise men
haue allowed. yf then youre so
uereigne ought without youre
interruption to enioye that you
can not endure to be denied to
youre selues (I meane the free
choise of mariage) yf also the
same be confirmed by them, vn-
to whome for their authorities
you are bounde to geue place:

It

It followeth that as this ought not to be the cause of youre vnnaturall outrage, euen so it cannot be otherwyse, but that (according to the vniuersall sentence and opinion of other christian realmes obserued of you) the inordinate desyre to retaine false religion, so farre abuseth you, that you forget duetie to God, your prince, and your countrie. O blinde and malicious ignorance, do you not see how by youre vnlawfull practice it plainlie appeareth bothe what you be, and frome whome this goodly Jewell (for the whiche you do so striue) commeth: Can you be thought any other then ingrate, arrogant, degenerat, & beastlish, hauing a disposition so rebell? Wherein you followe the

Deuyll

as thou

The Bysshopp of Englande vnto the degenerate Englishe.

O you leuerious and degenerate Englishe, knowe you what you doe? when you thus molest and vexe her to whome I wholy am vowde and dutifull power duetie bounden to obeye and serue? Can ye either purge youre selfes before God, who pisiueth suche disobedience with

eternall damnation? Do ye stande
yet before mannes tribole lawes
thinkinge rebellion so shamefull
matche? Are ye so desperate that
you feare not to offende them
for their power, whose sharpe
punishmentes ye can not a-
byde? Be you so farre from
all humanitie, that you can not
honour, loue, and obey her for
her knowen vertues, the bry-
ghtinge beames wherof might
melte the rage of the forren en-
nemies? Be you so vnwyse to
thynke that your malice towar-
des her toucheth onely her per-
son, and not me, or else ye mole-
steth her and not me? O you
wicked children, if I may nowe
call you children: Is thys the
fruit of the new profession? Doth
the suggestion and influence of

thys

this your vnholy inuented learn-
ing, teache suche vngodly mat-
ters in your lectures, thus sedi-
ciously, and rebellioussye to dis-
obey her, whom duetie bindeth
ethe godlye subiect to obey: thus
vnnaturalle to bere, & hastarde
me, whome nature stirreth ethe
naturall borne child to preserue?
Be you content to haue the frui-
tion of my commodities, to reape
the fruites of my pleasures, and
thus to bere me, thus to molest
me, thus to indaunger my con-
dition in her, whose carefull stu-
die is onely to reforme both you
and me, to bringe vs bothe to
that auncient and blissfull state
whiche throughe you, and the-
lyke was lost & brought to ex-
tremitie? Suppose you to haue
your commodities by me, when I

by yed and made bondslaues and ser-
uaūtes. Whiche yed to attempte and
cause rebellyon, wherby all yor
dilygence & feruētly mynded labo-
re to bryng enormities. By yor so much
to indge your selfes to be in the
ertie loben youre seditious clok
hathe wrought my confusion.
Am I not the common parente
out of whose bowelles yor wer
begon? In whose lappe you were
cherished with whose substaūce
you were nourished? In whose
armes you were fostred? Haue
you any continuaūce of welth
quietnes, honoure, or dignitye,
that by me was not receyued,
though he is not mainteyned,
and in the finalitye continued?
Was not I carefull for you or
you euer borne, to prouide clo-
thes to couer your naked mem-
bres

to produce sustenaunce and
foode to drawe forth life begon
in you? To preserue frendes bus
to you? and reserue habilitie to
them that might attende? com-
playe, and comforte you? What
haue you but by me? And what
are you in hope to haue without
me? And wyll you thus requite
my tender loue and kindnesse,
with suche hatefull rebellion?
What so euer I haue done for
you, I haue done the same for
your progenitours, frendes and
kinsmen. And can neither theis
cause styrre you, nor your owne
case moue you to be good to me,
by whome you all stande? you
haue been the occasion, or the
least, the mischiefe, whiche you
with mischiefe strue now to
defende, that these many yeres

I haue losse many and diuers
of my liuelye and founde mem-
bres, being cruelly cut from my
politike bodie, and haue also su-
steyned the great contempt and
breache of godlye and wyse or-
ders deuised for preseruation of
mine estate, and conseruation of
my membres in their dewe and
pdinarie course. Whereby how
odible I haue sithence been to
my selfe, and hateful to all chri-
stian realmes, aswell the gene-
rall voice of all forren countries
doeth witnesse, as also the
playne speache vttred not longe
ago by a moste faithfull & true
membre of my sister Scotland
the earle of Huntley confirmed.
Who beinge here, and hearynge
some here either for bragge or
prayse

The earle of Huntley.

[illegible] Scottes in Scotland [illegible]
[illegible] hadde flaine: [illegible]
[illegible] maiestie haue pou[illegible]
[illegible] then that good Scottishe
[illegible], whyen both armie coma[illegible]
[illegible] into Scotland, & there [illegible]
a fewe Scottes, and one Scotte
Scotte without armes or po[illegible]
[illegible] commeth home to poure
awne houses, and distroyeth ten
thoulande Englishe people in a
daye both bodye and soule with
hereſie: The same beinge after-
warde moued to become Eng-
lishe, and to be swoin to me and
my lawes: Na, quod he, I am
a true chzistian Scotte bozne,
and so I wyll remayne. Foz as
I am I knowe no enemie but
the Englishe man, but beinge
once swozne Englishe, where
shoulde

at the sounde of whose heauen-
ly and manifolde vertues, as
he hathe hetherto compounded
with synners to absolue, and as he
were healpen, ouerne, handes
hathe, beynge swyfftynge to pur-
sue me, and to make example of
vnto me thankefull cure as I was
ensample to the whole worlde of
all synnes, immedi, and per-
fectly as by her intercession and
mediacion, he maye merci-
fully receyue and heale my manyfo-
ld sores, to whose vertues
harken thate, to restore me good
and wholsome lyues, to re-
storne my disordered membres.
Whose her noble grace accom-
panyes purchase with all her
myght and authoritie, finding
alle like disposicion in my pain-
full membres, her handmaide

honoura

honorable and noble subiectes
[illegible] moue you, ouelye you. I
[illegible] speake agaynste Goddes
[illegible]full worde; and as moste
[illegible] to me prosperous &
[illegible]cause not to bouge, what
[illegible] ment to me, & what
[illegible] instrument this most
[illegible] long doeth attempte
[illegible] for me; deuisinge
[illegible] by day seditious, false and
[illegible] bytes, rumours, &
[illegible] to molest and trouble bes
[illegible]founde and dessaye me
[illegible] ye wyll bere
[illegible] from errour to trueth,
[illegible] fayne disorder
[illegible] better gouernaunce, by the
[illegible] inuocation of god
[illegible] instrument and chosen mi
[illegible], ye wyll beleue what
[illegible] moste vile and deuelishe ra
[illegible] ble

though

though not by your will perhaps
deliuer me into the hãdes of the
that bee my foes, but in dede
make enemies to youre selues.
I saye no moze but referre you
to consider what I haue sayde.
and waye with your selues in
what case I stande, and wher-
unto I was brought by thys
illusion, whiche hathe so defor-
med me and bewitched you.
And further by my sister Bo-
heme, consider what I maye
come to, and am like to be, if you
cease not this your wilful and
desperat outrage. Finallye doe
not forget the strange diseases,
sundrie plages, great dearthe,
whiche I haue longe suffered,
as cleare tokens of Gods ven
geaunce to bee bente ouer you
and me, and the bleding of hys

wretchfull handes to bee taken from hir. Do now ponder with your eares my wordes, that I haue spoken, that my sorowe may reache your hearte. And if you thinke me worthie whome you shoulde vtterly destroy and bring to hatefull confusion, then maye you lawefully maintaine that you haue taken. Ponder I beseche you louinge countreemen, what our commen parent and native countree Englande hathe saied. Call therewith to your remembraunce what shee myghte saye in waye of iuste complaunte: and then see if by anye meanes you can either excuse your selues as not acquainted with the cause of her greiffes, or accuse her, as causeles complaynyng alboe she hathe nede.

I sup-

I suppose you not to bee so
[illegible] and so blind, that you see
not your disorders nor so impu-
dent and shameles, that you ac-
knowledge not your knowen
faultes, nor yet so desperate and
vtterlye destitute of grace,
that you wyll not hereafter re-
forme your selues, partly dis-
couered by the manifolde tru-
ble wherein such vnnatural pas-
sions, partly allured by the high
merites and incomparable mer-
cie of so gracious a princesse as
God hathe appointed vnder to
governe ouer vs. I here wyll
end, as one pitying your former
case, and yet not despairing
your better gouernaunce
here after.

FINIS.

¶ A table containing the prin-
cipal matters ſette forth
within the booke.

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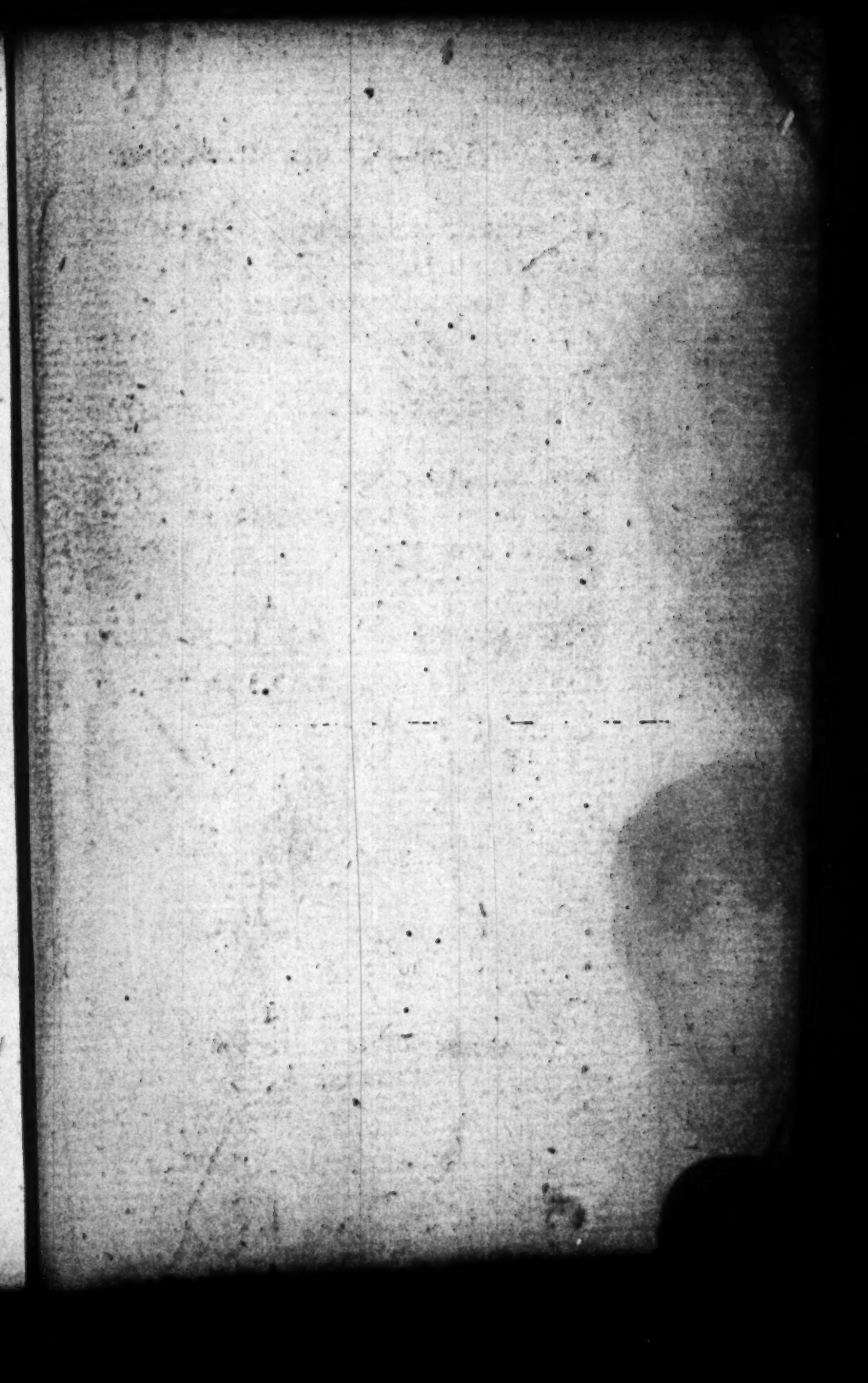
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